# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-92-141* *22 July 1992*

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## Croatia

Zagreb radio reported on a meeting between President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic in Zagreb on 21 July. Tudjman described the talks as "interesting and exhaustive, but also very fruitful." Izetbegovic added that the discussions were "very open and honest talks free from any pretensions and hidden thoughts."

## Yugoslavia

***Federal***—Belgrade TV carried an interview with President Dobrica Cosic at the conclusion of his meeting with Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia. Cosic stated "I must admit that we differed very seriously about some problems." He added: "There was most agreement on solutions to the Bosnian crisis. There are no important differences about that, which is the most important issue. We have some different views about Kosovo." Asked to further explain the Kosovo issue, he said: "I can only tell you that I do not accept an international conference on Kosovo and Metohija either, at the moment. I think that there has never been such a conference in the history of solving minority questions."

***Serbia***—After a meeting between President Slobodan Milosevic and Lord Carrington, Belgrade radio reports Milosevic stated: "Regarding an international conference on Kosovo, I think that one must bear in mind the fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—and the Republic of Serbia that is in it—is a sovereign and independent state, and that this is an internal matter for Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

## Berisha Discusses All-Albanian Cooperation

*AU2007072692 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Jul 92 pp 1,4*

[Kamber Avdiu report on speech by President Sali Berisha to the Association for the Return of Albanian Emigrants; place and date not given: "Albanian Speech Should Be Carried Everywhere Where There Is Albanian Blood"]

[Text] Every Albanian should remember that the Albanian world, or one-fourth, one-fifth, or one-sixth of it, inhabits its own territory in Albania and Yugoslavia. However, its temporal and spatial dimensions lie much deeper. It is extremely important that it should find its dimensions, uncover them, and place them on the right paths.

There is absolutely nothing nationalist or antinationalist about the Albanians in the diaspora and the policy that is pursued concerning them. On the contrary, this policy is completely in the spirit of Albania's integration into the civilized world. The diaspora is an important factor for the integration of Albania and the whole Albanian nation. The diaspora is and will remain our serious concern. We will undertake every measure for Albania, Kosovo, and all the Albanians to commit themselves, and to feel responsible for the diaspora. This requires them to increase our interest and their love for Albania and the Albanian lands to the proper level. This is more than necessary, especially when we, unfortunately, experienced hard times through no fault of our own.

I think that today more than ever before is the time when Albanians should unite on essential issues. I do not mean that the Albanians should unify their political views. I think that the Albanians should have, and be organized in, different political parties and associations. Albanian thinking can and must unite in building a democratic Albania. Albanian thinking can unite to achieve the national and human rights of the Kosovo Albanians and their right to self-determination more than ever before. Albanian thinking can unite in activating the entire diaspora over the national question.

However, questions arise: What can Albania do in this field? What can your association do? How much can Kosovo do? How much can other bodies do for pan-Albanian cooperation and for the diaspora?

First, I want to emphasize that our state and government will very soon undertake all the necessary state and administrative measures to make all Albanians equal wherever they are. We will try to abolish all the forms of division that were created in the past among the Albanians, no matter where they live, because Albania is one, and that is that. As we know, the Albanian territories are a tract of land that belongs to all Albanians. The Albanian territories belong to all the Albanians, wherever they are. The introduction of dual nationality will be the first and boldest step, and will responsibly promote Albanian rights in all their aspects, spreading them throughout the Albanian world.

Second, what has been done until now is insufficient. Your association, the Albanian state, and Albanian institutions, wherever they are, must carry out a powerful reform of taking the Albanian script and Albanian speech to wherever there is Albanian blood, wherever it is needed. This is not simply because we, as a culture and a nation, need to be integrated into world culture, but because we, as a people, have our own culture, which is ancient and has created and ensured the continuity of our nation. This culture can serve all countries and peoples. There is no doubt that our country is not outstanding regarding high technology. We need this in the field of science. It is clear that we have our ancient and rich culture that we can integrate into those of other peoples. This requires a greater commitment, and your association, along with the Albanian state, should join in the efforts of a pan-Albanian institution that has been created at our Foreign Ministry mainly for this purpose. This is the Directorate for Inter-Albanian and Emigrant Cooperation, although there are many other ways and means for cooperation in this important field. Our main goal is and must be to teach our children Albanian, wherever they are in the world, because the Albanian language is not a language to be ignored. It is a true language that deserves to be and must be learned and respected by Albanians wherever they are.

Third, I talked to the Albanian Radio and Television representatives some time ago, and I believe that we can do a great deal in providing more qualitative information to our emigrants, with the intention of preserving their connections with their native land and their national identity. At the Albanian Radio-Television we decided that their activity should be based only on presenting the Albanian truth to the world, and especially on informing our compatriots. For this reason, we decided to reduce programming for foreigners on Radio Tirana. Thus, only a few programs in four foreign languages will remain, with the elimination of those in Serbo-Croatian, Greek, etc. Albania should learn from the world now and carry its voice to Albanians wherever they are. Albania no longer needs to teach the world how to act, and it cannot do it, as it did for 45 years under the former system. Therefore, I think that the redirection of media programs will contribute extensively to keeping our compatriots fairly informed. Our media has great technical personnel, and real capabilities in this field. As is known, we are in a difficult economic situation. However, we are trying as hard as possible to connect with the satellite network to broadcast our radio and television programs, and we have achieved good results in this direction. Regarding this, I think that we, Albanians, should know more about Albania, about its history, its beauty, our love toward it, its successes, its business, its troubles, and pains.

I agree with the noble work you have done on providing building lots to those who return. I have full confidence that together we will increase our compatriots interest

and love toward their homeland. I agree with Dr. Ibrahim Rugova who says that with our commitment and concentration of our energy we will solve everything appropriately. I fully trust your policy because it is in complete harmony with our strategy concerning this issue; this can also be seen from your initiative.

Of course, we should bear in mind that we cannot tend to have our own aims. The aim is to perpetuate the Albanian world. This is our pan-Albanian effort. Thus, sometimes an Albanian in Turkey or Australia may be more useful to Kosovo and Albania than when he is in our territories. It is important to rouse these Albanians' patriotic feeling toward Albania, Kosovo, and all the Albanian territories. We should draft another concept for this, whereby the Albanian issue cannot be solved without developing and stabilizing Albania. We should have no illusions, and should not be idealists but rather realists about the actual situation.

The present situation in Albania is what it is. We are working gradually on stabilization. The Albanian issue has never before been so internationalized as it is today. I am sincerely convinced that with our joint efforts we can do much more than what we have done until now. These efforts should be pan-Albanian. Every link of the joint chain should operate and act toward unity and the pan-Albanian issue. Thus, this issue cannot be solved only through the efforts of occupied Albanians in Kosovo, and the poor Albanians in Albania, but with the efforts of all Albanians wherever they are in the world. Wherever I have been, I have seen readiness, will, and great sympathy toward Albania and Albanians. Thanks to their nature, peace-loving character, and work ethic the Albanians are particularly respected wherever they are. When I was at the U.S. Congress, I had the chance to talk to our compatriots and to notable American personalities, who spoke to me on the importance of our diaspora. I told them that we know and appreciate this very highly, too. Therefore, I think that this association is a very good initiative toward a right path on this issue. Concerning this, I need to see all its objectives. I am sincerely convinced that respect for its activity must be wider, and must be closely tied to democracy. I view and appreciate your work highly, and you will have my support, as well as the Albanian government's also. On this matter, I will decree dual nationality. I will issue the dual nationality decree for all Albanians; we will then decide on the technical manner of implementation. This decree will be a great act for all Albanians, and especially for those who did not have Albanian citizenship.

I inform all the interested compatriots again that the Albanian Radio-Television will strengthen its programs dedicated mainly to them, with the purpose of teaching Albanian language wherever Albanians are in the world. For this reason, Albanian instruction, books, and teachers will reach wherever they are needed.

Lastly, I must emphasize that we should not concentrate only on emigrants' returning, but we should fight to maintain their national identity, revive the Albanian language, Albanian culture and tradition, and to strengthen their connections with their native land. The revival of the Albanian language is extraordinarily important, wherever we can work in this matter. In this aspect, teaching and information are essential preconditions to reaching all our compatriots. It is not important whether the migrating states allow this or not, because there is a great unexplored space and possibilities for a successful action in this field. It was a great job for your association to publish the book *Albanian Exodus During Centuries* [*Shperngulja e shqiptareve nder shekuj*], and I congratulate from my heart for this excellent edition, and I think that other works should follow. In this aspect, all our Albanian intellectual and scientific potential should be required to be involved with a greater responsibility to clarify the Albanian emigration issue, regardless of the geographical relevancy.

### Former BCP Official Stoyan Mikhaylov Arrested

*AU2207095492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Jul 92*

[Text] In Sofia today Stoyan Mikhaylov, former secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee for ideological affairs, was arrested and charged with granting aid to fraternal communist parties.

According to our correspondent Angel Shoylev, who is at the offices of the National Investigation Service on Razvigor Street, Mr. Todor Zhivkov is also being questioned there at the moment on the same charges.

### BSP Parliamentary Group Announces New Leadership

*AU2207072892 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Jul 92 p 1*

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] The new leadership of the Parliamentary Union of Social Democracy was approved yesterday. A change in the priorities and strategy of the opposition made it necessary to dissolve the team of speakers, namely the so-called "shadow cabinet." The majority of its members are actually integrated in the leadership of the parliamentary union, Nora Ananieva, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, declared.

The Parliamentary Union of Social Democracy intends to work on its alternative program for the country's administration during the summer months. Working groups were established for this purpose in the following order: Stefan Stoilov and Doncho Konakchiev are heading the group on economic questions; Nikola Koychev and Elisaveta Milenova are in charge of social issues; Dobrin Spasov and Georgi Bozhinov are in charge of the intellectual sphere; Filip Bokov and Filip Ishpekov are the leaders of the foreign policy group; Yordan Shkolagerski and Mariana Khirstova are responsible for the group on legal matters; Lyubomir Nachev and Rosen Karadimov are in charge of the group dealing with crime, corruption, and law and order; and Nikolay Kamov has been elected a member of the parliamentary union's leadership.

Georgi Pirinski was elected first deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, while Velko Vulkanov and Krasimir Premayanov are deputy chairmen.

Late last night, the BSP Supreme Council opened its session devoted to the new opposition strategy.

### BSP Rally Demands Government Resignation

*AU2107192492 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] A national rally supporting a no-confidence vote for the government is being held at the Sofia Aleksandur Nevski Square. It is organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and the Sofia BSP orgnization.

Nora Ananieva, chairman of the BSP Parliamentary Group, assured the audience that the Socialists would return to parliament, and are willing to work for the resignation of a government that is dividing the nation and neglecting the needs of the people.

BSP leader Zhan Videnov pointed out that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is conducting a policy that is dangerous for the country because the extremist forces are prevailing within that group.

The BSP strives for true democracy rather than for national division. This government does not enjoy our confidence, but it does not enjoy the confidence of the democratic and extra-parliamentary opposition either. This problem should be settled as soon as possible, the BSP leader declared.

### DPS Issues Declaration on Campaign Against Turks

*AU1607200192 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—The ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) this evening issued a declaration on the pro-expatriation campaign waged in the country. It was read on the national television by DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi.

Certain circles have lately taken steps to manipulate public opinion in some regions in the country. They are spreading rumours about a new forcible assimilation of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, he said.

He cited instances of spreading false information in the Kurdzhali region (southeastern Bulgaria) of a UN decision according to which newborn children of ethnic minorities should be given names typical of a country's ethnic majority. According to the DPS, this is a pro-expatriation campaign similar to the one in 1989 when 340,000 ethnic Turks were forced to emigrate to neighbouring Turkey. These manipulations aim to cause disturbances in the country, the DPS spokesman said.

No forces can stop the democratic process in Bulgaria, the DPS spokesman concluded.

### Fights Reported at Human Rights Meeting in Plovdiv

*AU2107101992 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 92 p 2*

[Stefan Severin report from Plovdiv]

[Text] Brawls instigated by riffraff caused blood to flow in the Plovdiv "Hyde Park," where the defender of human rights Rumen Vodenicharov was due to speak on the evening of 16 July. About a score of people entered into sharp verbal altercations with the Plovdiv citizens who had gathered for the meeting. When Rumen Vodenicharov appeared, enraged supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces (Democrats) launched a verbal assault on him. They then started to jostle and kick him, and destroyed the flowers that people were presenting

him. Within a few minutes complete chaos broke out among the thousand-strong crowd that had gathered in the city's central gardens.

The public was notified in advance of the meeting through announcements in the local press. However, to the surprise of many, yesterday morning Deputy Mayor Lyubomir Komitov issued an order prohibiting the meeting, on the grounds that it would violate public order and disturb the peace of people using the park for recreation. He determined that such gatherings should take place in the Lauta Park, which is almost outside town, and on Tsar's Island on the Maritsa River. These brawls were arranged beforehand to give the municipality grounds to prohibit freedom of speech. Boris Stoyanov, chairman of the Plovdiv Municipal Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, declared that some of the brawlers were intoxicated.

### Zhelev Approves Changes in Army Command Staff

*AU1707162192 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 17 Jul 92*

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—By decrees of President Zhelyu Zhelev some changes have been carried out in the supreme command of the Bulgarian Army, BTA learned from the Press Service of the Ministry of Defence.

Major General Boris Atanasov Vakavliev was relieved of his post as deputy chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army and chief of the Operations Department and was appointed chief of the Preconscription Training and Sports Department.

Major General Petko Staykov Prokopiev was relieved of his post as commander of the First Army and was appointed deputy chief of the General Staff in charge of Operational Affairs. Major General Lyubomir Nikolov Vasilev was relieved of his post as commander of the Second Army and was appointed commander of the First Army. Major General Gancho Khristov Denev was relieved of his post as deputy commander of the Third Army and was appointed commander of the Second Army. The Sofia commandant, Colonel Dobri Mitev Stoyanov, was also relieved of his post and appointed chief of the Military Police Department with the General Staff.

### National Intelligence Service Complains of Slander

*AU2107050092 Sofia BTA in English 1733 GMT 20 Jul 92*

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (BTA)—In a press release circulated today the National Intelligence Service expressed "concern and "bewilderment" at what it sees as "vilifying invectives" by some of its former employees which have appeared in certain newspapers. The press release says those former employees, acting "deliberately and maliciously, actuated by self-seeking and retribution motives," are "trying to mount a campaign intended to destabilize the National Intelligence Service, which would affect national security."

Without naming names, the release says that there have been attempts to mislead political forces and individual politicians by inciting a hostile mood in the public over an alleged "special, sinister and destructive role" of the service. Insinuations are being made bordering on crime against national security, there are attempts to put a stigma on the presidential institution and the ruling coalition, the release says.

The National Intelligence Service has submitted to the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office documents implicating some former employees in actions endangering national security and in economic and criminal offenses. The National Intelligence Service calls on the state authorities to make public the truth about these cases.

### Government Closes Down Inefficient Mines

*AU1807152092 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 14 Jul 92 p 1*

[Text] On 13 July the government decided to close 56 mines and geological prospecting facilities due to inefficiency. According to information from the Transport Ministry, it will cost about 505.5 million leva to mothball the installations.

The decision will affect the Burgas Copper Mines; Arsal-Medet in Panagyurishte; Gorubso-Madan, Madzharovo, and Ustrem in Topolovgrad; Osogovo in Kyustendil; Chiprovets; Chelopech; and Eliseyna.

The government will budget 16 million leva for restoring the environment around these mines.

The Council of Ministers Press Center announced that the cabinet is also discussing subsidies for certain mining enterprises included in a list that the Industry Ministry is preparing.

### Prime Minister Interviewed on Economic Development

*AU2007134792 Sofia BTA in English 1136 GMT 20 Jul 92*

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (BTA)—"The cabinet now faces the difficult task of combining its anti-inflationary policy with measures aimed at the promotion of economic growth," Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov says in an extensive interview published in the PARI financial daily today. "The decrease of the base interest rates from 54 percent to 49 percent in early July marks the first step to making credits cheaper and encouraging investment."

The prime minister stresses the balance of payments surplus and the trade surplus in January-March 1992 as compared to the like period of the previous year as positive aspects of Bulgaria's macroeconomic development. The volume of exports has increased by 31.4 percent and that of imports by 23.6 percent. Currency exchange rates are stable. The overstock of finished

products tends to normalize which is a sign that production has begun to adjust itself to actual demand.

The tendency towards the establishment of a free market in Bulgaria provides guarantees for the future, the premier says. In his opinion the general trend of development is correct, but it will take some time for all things to take their proper place. The structural adjustment reform has been provided with a legal framework, now it is expected to make its start. The greatest danger we are facing now is to provoke social tensions for the purpose of destabilizing the country, Mr. Dimitrov says. "Outdated and irrational populism will not help us in the least," he says.

Replying to a question concerning the government's strategy, Mr. Filip Dimitrov says: "The government's goal is not working wonders but withholding the destructive tendencies in this period of unprecedented transformation which the society is going through. The government should manage to channel things in such a way as to help the economic agents produce good results." This is a strenuous effort, Mr. Dimitrov says, but rather static in certain respects to be able to withstand the diverse pressures until the contradictory processes are directed in the same way.

"The strategy of encouraging economic growth continues to stake on the establishment of a dynamic private sector and the orientation of export production to the developed market-economy countries. Different variants and optimal solutions are still being discussed. The government realizes that the privatization of big enterprises is a slow process." Mr. Dimitrov suggests that the government discuss its ideas for stimulating small- and medium-size businesses together with private businessmen. "In the meantime the government has taken some measures aimed at the further liberalization of foreign trade and the establishment of a system of instruments for the promotion of export, including the development of export production zones and a model of financing exports."

Asked about the role of the state during the transition to a market economy, the premier says that the state is unable to manage the economy adequately. According to him, its withdrawal from economic life should be gradual and prudent. On the one hand, the state should give way to private enterprise, but on the other it should create the conditions for its successful operation through various incentives, institutions, and infrastructure, and it should also control inflation, the budget deficit and other basic economic indicators.

According to Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, some renowned companies have shown keen interest in investing in Bulgaria and the time has come for a switch from just studying the opportunities to practical activity. For the achievement of this end the government stakes on the new Foreign Investment Act, the country's political stability and some specific mechanisms encouraging the setting up of small- and medium-size joint venture in the Bulgarian private business sector.

### Kostov Reports on Budget Compliance Through June

*AU1807195692 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Jul 92 pp 1,2*

[By Milena Boyadzhieva]

[Text] On 13 July Finance Minister Ivan Kostov reported to the cabinet on compliance with the budget as of 30 June. Revenues received were 41.2 percent of the total expected for the year, but the minister declared that, if everything went according to plan, they should reach precisely 50 percent at the mid-year point. Expenditures also amounted to 41 percent and the cash deficit was 40 percent of the amount expected for 1992.

Following is the revenue distribution picture, from which the trade union bosses expect so much. Revenues for the first six months are derived from adjustments to the 1991 budget results, duties, customs duties, and income taxes. Tax receipts—the main source of revenue—did not arouse much optimism as they were insufficient. The state collected 23 percent of its revenues from taxing profits on nonfinancial enterprises, compared with 81 percent last year. Receipts from excise duties, that many honest private citizens have described as murderous, only amounted to 22.6 percent of receipts. Revenue from turnover taxes made up 30.9 percent.

Analysis of the budget reveals the amazing fact that 434 million leva were received from income taxes on increased wages, which is indeed strange if one has faith in the continuous pressure to increase wages exerted by various companies and professional groups.

How were the funds spent? Over 50 percent went for subsidies, such as the energy industry. A large proportion of the money was allocated through budget transfers to the municipalities, and in the form of state and public grants to ministries and government departments. Kostov said that state investment had been kept to a minimum. The cash deficit amounted to 3.663 million leva of the 9.168 million estimated in the 1992 Budget Act, and it was financed from internal sources, primarily through the banks.

How much are the new measures in the social sector costing us? The Ministry of Finance estimates that over 4.5 billion leva will be allocated for updating pensions and 2.6 billion leva for wage increases. In Kostov's opinion, this will increase the deficit in the short term because he is still waiting for the payment of outstanding revenue contributions.

The chief economic problems are mainly connected with the continuing recession. It is difficult to replace the markets lost in the former Soviet Union with new ones. The crisis in former Yugoslavia is seriously affecting us. We have also incurred high losses as a result of the old Cooperatives Act, that denied excise duties and taxes to

the budget. It is especially alarming that the absolute amount of subsidy expenditures has more than doubled.

In Kostov's view, it is becoming increasingly difficult to execute disciplined financial policy in Bulgaria. Structural reform is making little progress, and money must be taken from the budget to balance trade unions demands. The report for the first six months of 1992, in fact, reveals the truth about how and to what extent the government of the Union of Democratic Forces is reacting to the serious situation of various individual social strata and groups. It also reveals the true cost of making progress, and the true value of the aggressive attacks launched by the trade union confederations—something that Mr. Petkov and Mr. Trenchev in their enthusiasm failed to inform the television viewers of late last night.

## January-June Economic Activity Remains 'Low'

*AU1607175292 Sofia BTA in English 1303 GMT 16 Jul 92*

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—Statistics show that economic activity in the state and cooperative sector has remained low in the January-June period. The downturn in production has persisted in June, though at 25,000 million leva sales were highest from the beginning of the year. This was announced by Mr. Fratev, spokesman of the National Statistical Institute, at today's regular news conference.

Proceeds from goods and services in the January-June period were 135,000 million leva at current prices, a 20.2 per cent drop from 1991. Production has also shrunk about 20 per cent. The data are estimates based on preliminary information on the condition of the economy.

Seventy per cent of enterprises have registered a decline in sales, which is over 60 per cent in 30 per cent of them. The drop in production is sharpest in electronic and electrical engineering, the food industry, machine engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industry. Seventy-five per cent of the drop in production is in these sectors, which account for 60 per cent of sales in industry. Sales in the food industry approximated the 1991 level early this year but the decline in the last few months has been considerable. At current prices, sales have increased from 2,000 million to 3,100 million leva. However, they have dropped in physical terms.

A survey conducted by the National Statistical Institute shows that 35 per cent of enterprises work at 50 per cent of their capacity, 44 per cent of enterprises at 50 to 70 per cent, and 21 per cent are operating at over 70 per cent of capacity. The shrinkage in production is mainly due to lack of markets and deficiency of raw and prime materials. Twenty-one per cent of enterprises have suspended production at some time between January and June, while 8.2 per cent have closed down certain units.

The National Statistical Institute has estimated turnover in the private sector in the first six months at 14,000 million leva, a 20 per cent increase from the same period of 1991. The expansion of the private sector is gradually limiting the role of the state and cooperative sectors where sales are estimated at 19,600 million leva, a 33.6 per cent decrease from the January-June period of 1991. Inflation in the first six months was 40.8 per cent. At 11.9 per cent it was highest in May. In June the consumer price index was 105.8. The highest price increases were registered in tobacco products (15.1 per cent) and taxes and rates (13.3 per cent).

### Government, Presidium To Share Presidential Powers

*LD2107210992 Prague CSTK in English 1736 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Prague July 21 (CSTK)—The following is a survey of the division of presidential powers between the federal premier, the Federal Government and the Presidium of the Federal Assembly (parliament) after Vaclav Havel's resignation Monday [20 July]:

Under the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the Federal Premier, Jan Strasky (ODS) [Civic Democratic Party], will represent Czechoslovakia in relations with foreign countries, negotiate and ratify international agreements, receive and appoint ambassadors, sign federal assembly laws and legislative measures adopted by the assembly's presidium, appoint senior state officials of Czechoslovakia, including director of the Federal Security and Information Service (FBIS), appoint and promote generals, appoint university professors and rectors, award state distinctions, declare an amnesty and grant pardon. Strasky also becomes the commander-in-chief of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces.

In the period when the duties of the president of the Republic are exercised by the Federal Government, the federal parliament's Presidium appoints and recalls the Federal Government, appoints its members and charges them with managing ministries and other federal central bodies.

The remaining powers of the president are performed by the Federal Government as a whole. These include the right to convene and end sessions of the Federal Parliament (the government can dissolve the parliament only if the two houses' arbitration does not produce a resolution on the federation's state budget acceptable to both houses), to report to the federal parliament on the state of the federation, to declare a state of war, declare war if the republic is attacked or if it must fulfill mutual defence commitments stemming from international agreements.

### Social Democrats Criticize Czech Government

*LD2107122392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Today's news briefing by the Czechoslovak Social Democracy [CSSD] was devoted solely to the issue of the constitutional setup of our state. Alexander Picha reports:

[Picha] Zdenek Jicinsky accused the Civic Democratic Party [CDP] and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [MFDS] of pursuing narrow party interests by failing to include the issue of the Czechoslovak president in their agreement. Jicinsky said that by resigning, Vaclav Havel failed to fulfill his role, and that there should be another presidential election round so that all the constitutional functions of the state could be ensured.

Deputy Vaclav Grulich accused Klaus' government of trying to assume more power than it was entitled to in the issue of a constitutional setup and of interfering too much in Czech National Council [CNC] matters. However, when answering a question from Radio Czechoslovakia, he characterized the proposal by the CNC chairman and presidium to set-up a Czech parliament commission for negotiating with the Slovak National Council as not a very tactical move. In his view, this will put pressure on the Slovak side to set up a similar commission.

The CSSD, Liberal Social Union, and the Moravian-Silesian Movement for Self-Governing Democracy have already started talks on a future Czech constitution. When asked by our radio, Chairman Jiri Horak said this should not be their own version of a draft constitution as a reaction to the Czech Government coalition's draft. At the moment, the Social Democrats only consider a different wording of some articles of the future Czech constitution.

### Klaus Calls For Action on Resolving Problems

*AU2207120392 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 Jul 92 pp 1, 2*

[Commentary by Vaclav Klaus, Czech prime minister and Civic Democratic Party chairman: "Fatigue from Discussions on the Constitutional Setup"]

[Text] The task of our time—the time of liquidating the dismal communist heritage and restoring parliamentary democracy and market economy (or, in other words, the time of the restoration of capitalism, for those who are not afraid of that word)—is to resolve a large number of political, economic, and social problems. Thinking people know very well that this is an exceedingly difficult task; that there exist no manuals to teach us how to approach it; that it requires a creative approach, learning "as we go along" and quick correction of mistakes; and that the problems are not only practical (heavy industry, environment, unsalable goods, antiquated infrastructure, etc.) but also psychological (bad habits from four decades of a collectivist, paternalistic, and inefficient regime). The world around us has not come to a halt; however, it is not waiting for us to catch up and we cannot afford the luxury of procrastination and delay the necessary solution of accumulated problems.

Slowly, I am beginning to feel uneasy. For weeks, if not for months, I have neither heard nor read any polemics about these crucial matters. Even I myself am no longer the target of demagogic attacks—attacks to which I had almost grown accustomed in the last two years—because of my stand on these issues. Instead, a single topic dominates the media—the constitutional setup. The result is that in the Czech Republic, the media reject the rhetoric of the election winners in Slovakia, some of them more sharply and some more moderately, and they offer solutions, both patient and impatient, reasonable

and unreasonable. We should admit to ourselves that this is somehow ceasing to attract our interest.

Let us therefore attempt to recapitulate, as it were, some of the basic findings that could help find, at least, some elementary consensus on the future conduct and reactions of the Czech side:

—The emancipatory "self-determination" process in Slovakia is absolutely natural and legitimate and there exists no argument, let alone a Czech argument, that could or should call it into question. It is pointless and, above all, aimed in the wrong direction when one keeps repeating that the common state is better and more rational, and rejection of the common state is therefore "irrational.

—Whether we like it or not, Slovakia's independence is desired by the overwhelming majority of Slovak voters and the political parties representing them, which differ only in their views on how to bring about this independence.

—With their initial steps—strong appeals to national unity, in view of which "partial interests" must be put aside; quick replacement of inconvenient civil servants; unfastidious criticism of the media; and charges against the previous government (today's opposition) not because of specific mistakes it made, but making it accountable for the inevitable post-communist quagmire—the victorious political forces in Slovakia have manifested a tendency to build an authoritarian political system that can be defended only at the cost of constantly creating some external enemy (a role that, as we have witnessed in the last couple of days, currently cannot be played by anyone but Czechs, followed immediately by Hungarians).

—The Czech left knows very well that in the space between As [in West Bohemia] and Michalovce [in East Slovakia] it will always be stronger than in the Czech Republic alone, which is why it will resist—by all means and in relative unity—any form of the CSFR's disintegration. To a large degree, the left will be "going for broke" because this attitude could easily bring it into serious conflict with Czech public opinion. It seems ready to play this game, however, and, thereby, risks losing a lot in the long run.

—Public opinion in both parts of the country is disoriented by the continuing confusing polemics and there is a danger that a poorly prepared referendum with an unconvincing question would bring further confusion into the whole situation and would eliminate itself from the range of possible ways of resolving the present crisis (because, under the referendum law, it could be repeated only after five years). A useful referendum would have to be preceded by an agreement between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council and a recommendation to citizens, arising from this agreement, regarding a clearly formulated question.

—A process of self-determination and self-definition is, therefore, an urgent existential Czech interest. This process must result in Czech statehood, which, incidentally, was sought even during the [1918-38] First Republic. The political constellation of wartime and post-war Europe at the time contributed to the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, which, despite its undeniably positive significance for the shaping of both the Czech and Slovak societies, suffered from serious internal problems (particularly national problems stemming from the unsuccessful project of a "Czechoslovak political nation"). It was because of these problems that the Czechoslovak Republic did not survive the onset of fascism. Its communist episode then introduced such hotbeds of tension into coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks, as we are increasingly realizing, that it is presently in the interest of both sides to abandon the federation. The projects of a confederation, a union, or some sort of an alliance mean dragging one part of today's federation into the political, economic, nationality, and, possibly, "neighborly" problems of the second part, which could be very dangerous.

We must rid ourselves of false emotions, needless recriminations, and the shortsighted search for third paths and try to quickly come to terms with this unpleasant aspect of the post-communist heritage. Only then will we be able to devote ourselves fully to everything else. It is more than high time that we do that.

## Klaus Evaluates Impact of Havel Resignation, Talks

*LD2107204192 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1646 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Vaclav Musilek within the framework of the "Ten Minutes With the Czech Prime Minister" program; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Mr. Prime Minister, in the week that has passed since our last conversation, several fundamental things have occurred in relation to our further development. First, President Vaclav Havel has resigned. On this occasion you expressed the view that it is no good to continue electing a federal president. Is this because, in your view, the federation can survive without this office or is it because the Civic Democratic Party is not considering supporting anyone but Vaclav Havel?

[Klaus] It is both of those things. First, we are not considering supporting anyone else, and we also think that it would be essentially useless to strive for this or to try to come up with someone other than Vaclav Havel. On the other hand, I truly think that the federation can survive without a president because it is important that this entire act of the departure of Vaclav Havel came to be only after it was passed by the federal government in the Federal Assembly. It is thanks to this that we have institutions that can function and I believe that the Federal Government and the federal premier will be able

to cope with it. At the moment, we are not talking about some kind of basic presidential initiatives that, perhaps, could be implemented during these strange times. So I do not see it as an obstacle.

[Musilek] On 17 July, a declaration of sovereignty was adopted by Slovakia. It is being assessed on two levels: the legal level, which merely repeats the stipulations of the valid constitution—and from this point of view it does not appear very significant—and the political level. In your view, is its adoption definitive confirmation of the Slovak representation's effort to establish the statehood of Slovakia and to achieve the status of an international legal subject?

[Klaus] Absolutely. This is one of the long-awaited steps that had to come. That is why I cannot even force myself to make a fundamental statement; this step was discussed for such a long time that, suddenly, I am insufficiently motivated to say anything fundamental. In this sense, as a political signal, it is absolutely clear and we accept the message and we are arranging our affairs accordingly. But I must say that this has yet another level. You said, constitutionally legal on the one hand, political on the other hand. I must stress that, at the least, it also has a civil and humanitarian level. In this respect or on this level, the declaration was most important for me. The fact that the declaration could forget the word Czech and Czechoslovak is not very acceptable to me and if I say that this matter will be difficult to forget here in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, I mean it seriously and personally. It touched me personally and I believe it touched many others too. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Is there not the danger of a growth of nationalism in Bohemia and in Moravia in response to this process? I am asking about this because these fears will probably inevitably start to emerge among citizens of Slovak nationality who permanently reside on the territory of the Czech Republic and who want to continue to live there.

[Klaus] Again, these processes are logical and none of us can exclude them. On the other hand, I would not be a pessimist. Let us take the more extreme reactions that were manifest either in front of the Federal Assembly or, on the other hand, in Slovakia, in front of the Slovak National Council. Everyone who noticed these events saw that they only involved a handful of people. It did not become a large-scale event. I believe that the ordinary person, in both the Czech and Slovak Republics, is a bit tired of the state setup talks. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Let us return to the constitutional talks. You are to meet with representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia again tomorrow. Can you tell us the main points on the agenda of tomorrow's talks?

[Klaus] The main points include further talks on the issues that we did not manage to solve previously, because, among other things, they were not of priority importance and their turn has come only now—reaching an agreement on other federal bodies. During our previous talks we managed to agree about the government itself, but there are other bodies. The issue now is that during the month we have spent on talks, things have progressed, even though things do not give this impression. Then the impression was that it was going to be a fateful dispute over how to transform this or that federal body and who to put in charge. Meanwhile, we have really progressed. At present, the issue is going to be whether or not to preserve this or that body, whether to preserve it, transfer its powers to the republics, or have it disappear. In this sense, the month was useful and certainly nothing was lost by the fact that we did not resolve it all a month ago. This is the first part of tomorrow's talks.

The second part will no doubt be devoted to putting forward one's views on fundamental issues. All of us are aware that during that month, many things happened in this sphere as well. The governments became stable; the Czech and Slovak National Councils became stable and their views are more stable and firm. And we have to brief each other on them and see whether we have a chance or not. Despite profound differences on many issues, this dialogue has been constructive one as it has led to some sort of conclusion. The issue is whether we are going to continue this dialogue.

Before you arrived, I met with Mr. Giunti, EC ambassador, who is an Italian. We discussed the validity of the association agreement and what to do about it. We also discussed its quotas for Czechoslovakia—export quotas and import quotas—and how to renegotiate these things. We oppose a renegotiation,insisting that if there is political will toward European integration it is possible, without any renegotiation, to say that the association agreement is valid for both of us as it was valid for one. He said, there are the quotas. And I answered: We will show you that we are capable of agreeing on them. This will also be a very good signal for the EC—that we are capable of agreeing on the quotas by ourselves—and this will hopefully be a signal that we are capable of reaching a peaceful, calm agreement without requiring any EC mediation to be able to agree on who can export more steel or food to West Europe.

I consider this to be a rather good signal we could send to Europe and make them realize that they should not anger us by persistently applying to us a perception similar to the Yugoslav model. They have now adopted a model that if countries split they split in a Yugoslav way. They are inclined to apply this model automatically to all other countries. I explained to him at length that such a perception is mistaken. I think that our ability to agree on such things—for example, the association agreement quotas—would be a good thing. Thus, tomorrow's meeting will indicate our ability to hold a constructive dialogue on issues of this type.

I am aware that this is an issue for governments and parliaments, but all of us are well aware that it is also important for there to be a fundamental political will. If

political will is missing, government or parliamentary discussion about technical aspects will end deadlock. This is to be the purpose of tomorrow talks.

### Meciar Comments on Slovak Constitution Rebuted

*LD2007213292 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1940 GMT 20 Jul 92*

[Excerpts] Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's claim that the Federal Constitution would be in force in Slovakia until the day the constitution of the Slovak Republic takes force was denied by Pavel Rychetsky, former Federal Government deputy chairman for legislation, in yesterday's Czechoslovak Television daily. [passage omitted]

We asked Roman Zelenay, a member of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia and Federal Assembly deputy chairman, to comment.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] The current Constitution reads: Until the constitution of the Czech Republic and the constitution of the Slovak Republic are adopted, the constitutional affairs of these republics will be regulated by this constitutional act, as well as by other constitutional decrees. That is Article 142, Paragraph 2. When the constitutions of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic are adopted and when they take force, obviously, all jurisdiction ensuing from the particular constitution is valid on the territory of the respective republic. I am not aware of there being another—third—entity, some federal territory as is the case in the United States, for example. It is a slightly different matter in the case of some laws or legal decrees that will not be dealt with in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. I will speak about Slovakia now.

If things are not dealt with in the constitution of Slovakia, but are dealt with in the Federal Constitution, they continue to be valid and in force as stipulated by the Federal Constitution. [passage omitted]

Of course, the immediate response of our colleagues was to produce Paragraph 3 of the act, which says that the laws adopted by the Federal Assembly and by republican parliaments, as well as other legal measures adopted by federal or republican bodies, may not contradict the Constitution and constitutional acts of the CSFR. I do point out that they do not speak about constitutional laws, and that is an essential difference. I can give you an example to prove this. When we were adopting the constitutional act on the CSFR Constitutional Court it was stipulated that this court had no right to investigate whether the constitution of the Slovak Republic or the constitution of the Czech Republic is in accord with the CSFR Constitution, since this is nonsense, of course. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Slovak Party Leader Criticizes MFDS Actions

*LD2007210692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 20 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] The introductory part of the Democratic Party [DP] news conference today focused on criticism of some steps taken by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [MFDS] after the elections. As DP Chairman Jan Holcik said, it is becoming clear that the victorious movement promised more than it is doing. Jan Holcik backed his words in an interview granted to Alena Michalicova:

[Begin recording] [Holcik] Analyses of the Slovak Republic's economic situation are being carried out today. The MFDS claimed, though, that they had completed the analyses earlier. These economic analyses now prove that if the state breaks up, the situation is not favorable for Slovakia's economy. To sum it up, the MFDS has no alternative ready for a speedy break-up of the CSFR. The MFDS has to deal with these problems without any delay. I want to remind people that it is the responsibility of the MFDS to prepare the referendum that it promised to the citizens of the Slovak Republic. I think that this should follow after an agreement by the Czech and Slovak National Councils, which should decide on the wording of the question for Czech and Slovak citizens. The question should be the same for both since we still live in a common state.

[Michalicova] You have also voiced certain objections to the way in which the declaration on the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic was adopted.

[Holcik] I queried the fact that the declaration was signed by Slovak Premier Mr. Meciar. It is a political declaration of the Slovak National Council [SNC], is it not? What I minded the most, however, was the theatrical background enhanced by the undignified way of voting in the SNC, which really became a ground for insults and attacks on deputies who voted against the declaration. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### ODU Sees Republic Breakup as 'Irreversible'

*AU2107084392 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 Jul 92 p 2*

[CSTK report: "Breakup Irreversible"]

[Text] Bratislava— The adoption of the declaration on the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic has made the CSFR's breakup irreversible. This is confirmed by President Vaclav Havel's resignation. This is stated in a declaration by the Civic Democratic Union [ODU], which—as a right-wing conservative party—will uphold the principles of civic society, parliamentary democracy, and market economy even in an independent Slovak state.

## Prices, Cost of Living Increase Slightly in June

*AU2207073692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Jul 92 p 8*

[Federal Statistical Office, Czech Statistical Office, and Slovak Statistical Office report: "The Development of Consumer Prices and Cost of Living in June"]

[Text] Compared with May, consumer prices continued to rise in June on an average of 0.3 percent. The most pronounced increase—from the main groups of products and services—was seen in public catering—0.9 percent; a lesser increase of 0.5 percent was seen in non-food products; and a 0.3 percent increase was seen in services. Food prices rose negligibly—0.2 percent.

In public catering in June, the prices for all products, except cigarettes, rose. In services, prices rose especially in the categories of education, culture, entertainment, and sports (0.9 percent) and prices for personal services (0.5 percent). Prices for non-food products rose more sharply in the case of personal hygiene products, sanitary and healthcare products, drugstore products (1.6 percent), and household products (1.3 percent). The sharpest decline in the food category was in egg and egg product prices (6.2 percent) and, on the other hand, the sharpest increase was seen in sugar, sweets, and sugar products and beverages (about 1 percent).

From the beginning of the year until June prices rose 3 percent (compared with December 1991). The sharpest increase was seen in public catering (5.9 percent), and the least was seen in food (1.4 percent). Prices in the Czech Republic in the first six months rose faster than prices in the Slovak Republic—1.9 percent. Prices for all basic groups and services rose faster in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic, while food prices even declined.

Compared with the same period last year, consumer prices were 6.2 percent higher in the CSFR in June; 6.3 percent in the Czech Republic, and 6.1 percent in the Slovak Republic. Compared with the same period last year, prices over the first six months were 11.8 percent higher in the CSFR; 11.5 percent in the Czech Republic, and 12.5 percent in the Slovak Republic.

The average annual increase in consumer prices (average over the last 12 months against the average of 12 preceding months) was 29.3 percent in the CSFR, 28.7 percent in the Czech Republic, and 31.2 percent in the Slovak Republic.

In contrast with the price development this year, when prices are rising faster in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic, the yearly data show an opposite trend of faster price increases in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic.

The cost of living also rose slightly in June, compared with May: 0.3 percent in employees' households, 0.3 percent in farmers' households, and 0.1 percent in pensioners' households. Here, the smaller increase was affected by the smaller increase in food prices. From the beginning of the year until June, the increase in the cost of living (compared with December 1991) rose most sharply in employees' households—3.1 percent; it rose 2.7 percent in farmers' households and 2.1 percent in pensioners' households. In all social groups the cost of living rose faster in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic, within the limits of 1.9 to 2.6 percentage points.

## Complete Unemployment Statistics for June

*AU1707100392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Jul 92 p 8*

["FO"-signed report: "Unemployment Further Declined in June"]

[Text] A continuing decline in unemployment was again registered in the CSFR in June. The month-to-month decline was, however, significantly smaller than in previous months. The total number of job-seekers registered at the labor exchanges declined by 9,000 (8,000 in the Czech Republic and 1,000 in the Slovak Republic). Hence, on 30 June 1992 the unemployment rate was 5.46 percent. Of these job-seekers, 39 percent collected unemployment benefits (48 percent in the Czech Republic and 34 percent in the Slovak Republic). Although the number of registered vacant positions is growing, the large discrepancy between supply and demand remains typical for the labor market. This is particularly true in the Slovak Republic. On 30 June, there were more than four job-seekers for each vacancy (1.7 in the Czech Republic and 21.4 in the Slovak Republic). There are, however, great differences between individual regions.

**Job Seekers and Job Vacancies as of 30 June**

| Region | Unplaced job seekers on 31 May | Newly registered | Removed from the register | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Placed |
| Prague | 2,935 | 646 | 1,228 | 789 |
| Central Bohemia | 15,350 | 3,153 | 3,717 | 2,587 |
| South Bohemia | 8,907 | 1,625 | 2,451 | 1,757 |
| West Bohemia | 8,662 | 2,205 | 2,679 | 1,821 |
| North Bohemia | 19,307 | 4,332 | 5,268 | 3,103 |

## Job Seekers and Job Vacancies as of 30 June (Continued)

| Region | Unplaced job seekers on 31 May | Newly registered | Removed from the register | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| East Bohemia | 16,751 | 3,458 | 4,383 | 3,064 |
| South Moravia | 34,450 | 6,480 | 8,872 | 6,540 |
| North Moravia | 43,303 | 8,650 | 9,898 | 6,571 |
| Czech Republic total | 149,665 | 30,549 | 38,496 | 26,232 |

| Region | Unplaced job seekers on 30 June | Recipients of unemployment benefits | Vacant jobs total | Rate of unemployment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prague | 2,353 | 1,233 | 19,275 | 0.34 |
| Central Bohemia | 14,786 | 8,044 | 9,635 | 2.86 |
| South Bohemia | 8,081 | 5,445 | 5,732 | 2.33 |
| West Bohemia | 8,188 | 4,122 | 8,669 | 1.89 |
| North Bohemia | 18,371 | 6,446 | 11,191 | 3.02 |
| East Bohemia | 15,826 | 9,380 | 10,307 | 2.49 |
| South Moravia | 32,058 | 15,276 | 9,100 | 3.13 |
| North Moravia | 42,055 | 18,524 | 11,057 | 4.25 |
| Czech Republic total | 141,718 | 68,470 | 84,966 | 2.7 |

| Region | Unplaced job seekers on 31 May | Newly registered | Removed from the register | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Placed |
| Bratislava | 19,170 | 1,102 | 1,928 | 739 |
| West Slovakia | 94,121 | 8,802 | 8,865 | 3,253 |
| Central Slovakia | 83,382 | 8,861 | 10,227 | 4,724 |
| East Slovakia | 86,688 | 8,109 | 6,908 | 3,916 |
| Slovak Republic total | 283,361 | 26,874 | 27,928 | 12,632 |
| CSFR total | 433,026 | 57,423 | 66,424 | 38,864 |

| Region | Unplaced job seekers on 30 June | Recipients of unemployment benefits | Vacant jobs total | Rate of unemployment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bratislava | 18,344 | 6,697 | 4,099 | 6.41 |
| West Slovakia | 94,058 | 34,353 | 2,683 | 12.45 |
| Central Slovakia | 82,016 | 30,926 | 2,785 | 10.65 |
| East Slovakia | 87,889 | 24,791 | 3,631 | 12.64 |
| Slovak Republic total | 282,307 | 96,767 | 13,198 | 11.26 |
| CSFR total | 424,025 | 165,237 | 98,164 | 5.46 |

### Miners Picket at Ministry of Industry

*LD2107205292 Warsaw PAP in English 1632 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Warsaw, July 21—A 1600-strong group of miners on Tuesday [21 July] marched in the streets of Warsaw and staged a picket in front of the Ministry of Industry and Trades building, chanting slogans "give us work."

Groups of farmers from the "Self-Defence" Farmers' Union, followers of the Party "X" and Left-Wing Youth joined the picketing miners.

Leader of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Ewa Spychalska addressed the picketers, assuring them that they would not be left alone as their demands are backed up by the OPZZ.

The picket ended after five representatives of miners' unions met with the Ministry of Industry and Trade's officials and handed a petition to Deputy Minister Andrzej Lipko. The miners expect to meet with Government representatives on Wednesday to discuss the situation in the mining industry.

Miners demand that the Government take rational action and decisions aimed at boosting the Polish economy. Meanwhile, the parliamentary floor group of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) asked the Presidium of the Sejm (lower house) to hold an extraordinary meeting devoted to the situation in the Polish mining industry, the Government press bureau announced.

### Government Rejects Negotiations Under Pressure

*LD2107213592 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Warsaw, July 21—The Polish Cabinet declared its readiness for negotiations with all trade unions that "act within the limits of law", according to a statement adopted on Tuesday [21 July].

The Cabinet opposed, however, the infringing of the national interest and the forcing of concessions through strikes. It also ruled out the possibility of "granting privileges to some branches at the expense of others."

The statement recalls that "the government cannot accept responsibility for managements financial decisions that were forced by strikes", adding that it can and will call the managers taking unjustified financial decisions to account. According to the statement, the government is ready "to help the financially weak sectors of economy" but it is not going to make exceptions when forced by strikes. The government is ready for talks on the restructuring of different economic sectors which cannot, however, be held under the pressure of protest actions and strikes.

Asked to comment on the possibility of closing up the Lubin copper combine in case a strike lasts for over a week, Labour Minister Jacek Kuron said that "there are no such regulations." He explained that the government cannot use lockout in case of a private enterprise, adding, however, that managements of firms—also private ones—have the right to close unprofitable departments.

The statement summarizes Tuesday's Cabinet discussions on the current social and political situation and protest actions in the copper basin and Mielec aircraft equipment plant.

### Suchocka Gains Two-Thirds Positive Rating in Poll

*AU2207083392 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18-19 Jul 92 p 2*

["KRZEM" report: "A Soft Spot for the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Most people approve of Hanna Suchocka as a woman and as a prime minister, and hopes in her government are generally high, reveals an opinion poll by the Public Opinion Research Center carried out on a random sample of 1,183 people on 15 and 16 July.

Two-thirds of the respondents thought Suchocka would be a good prime minister, and only 8 percent said the opposite. Two-thirds also said her government would last longer than the previous ones.

Almost half of the respondents said her government would fulfill society's expectations. One-fifth said it would not.

Suchocka is top of the prime ministerial popularity league. Fifty seven percent of the respondents were in favor of her, and 4 percent against. The result concerning previous prime ministers were as follows. Waldemar Pawlak: 53 percent in favor, 9 percent against. Jan Olszewski: 20 percent in favor, 36 against. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki: 32 percent in favor, 21 percent against. Tadeusz Mazowiecki: 28 percent in favor, 23 percent against.

The fact that Suchocka is a woman will make it easier for her to maintain contacts particularly with the president and society, said the respondents. However, for the same reason, her contacts with ministers and the Sejm will not be so easy, they said.

## Interior Minister Views Reorganization Tasks

*AU2107133392 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Jul 92 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Interior Minister Victor Babiuc by Gilda Lazar; place and date not given: "Why Is Mr. Babiuc Contested?"]

[Excerpts] [Lazar] Mr. Babiuc! You are the most controversial minister at the moment. You have been controversial from the moment you took over the Interior Ministry....

[Babiuc] This is true. I was one of two ministers the Senate did not accept until the second time around.

[Lazar] Why do you think this happened?

[Babiuc] Although I do not know all the reasons, I think I can suggest two. One of them involves my orientation at the Justice Ministry, an orientation which probably has elicited the distrust of some parliamentary deputies. I mean primarily those people who now make up the so-called Democratic Front of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. On the other hand, I can also mention the ill will of some parliamentary deputies who were members of various committees, people with whom I exchanged views about the organization of the Justice Ministry, and especially in the process of formulating the Constitution. These people did not understand that my opinions and arguments did not involve the persons I was talking to but were determined by the subject of our discussions. Debates I considered finished have been continued by these people who reject my participation in the government. [passage omitted]

[Lazar] I understand that you have also initiatied many changes in the Interior Ministry. Do you think that these changes led to animosities and to the emergence of internal enemies?

[Babiuc] When I came here, I found this ministry organized into four departments, each with its own setup and structure determined by the government. Each department considered itself a separate entity. The bosses were more interested in their importance within the ministry as a whole, rather than in running a smooth operation. Moreover, cooperation between the various departments was very bad. This state of affairs led to the need to eliminate this structure, and I also used the opportunity to reduce the number of ministry directorates and the typically military structure of the chief of staff, a unit that has no place in an Interior Ministry.

[Lazar] What were the results of this shakeup?

[Babiuc] As the events of the past eight to nine months show, the results are positive. People are beginning to cooperate and better understand their tasks. [passage omitted]

[Lazar] Is it true that you have submitted a report to President Iliescu in which you oppose presidential interference in police affairs?

[Babiuc] That is true. Attempts have been made by the Supreme Defense Council to subordinate the Interior Ministry, and I tried to avoid this. I had to write to the president to do this.

[Lazar] Have they also tried to interfere in the activity of the Justice Ministry?

[Babiuc] No. The Justice Ministry did not "benefit" from such intervention attempts, because it was probably considered a less important ministry. [passage omitted]

[Lazar] Press reports have confirmed existence of a plan for Mr. Iliescu to resign before the elections. Do you have such a plan in case you are nominated as a candidate by the FSN? Is there any legal disharmony between presidential candidacy and administrative functions?

[Babiuc] You ask me about plans that would become topical if I were a candidate for president. Given the fact that I do not yet have this candidacy, however, my plans are less clearly outlined. There is no incompatibility whatsoever between the position of minister and presidential candidate, and resignation is not obligatory, either. On a moral level, and regarding the behavior of relevant persons, such a measure would be useful, but only if a person is suspected of abusing his current position for his benefit or his political friends....

[Lazar] If you were a presidential candidate, what slogan would you adopt?

[Babiuc] Let me first become a candidate, then I will tell you....

[Lazar] Prime Minister Stolojan claimed he refused to be a presidential candidate because he could not say the following: "Iliescu is bad, and I am good." Would you say that Mr. Iliescu is bad?

[Babiuc] I understand perfectly Mr. Stolojan's position, because this issue also makes me somewhat uncomfortable. Of course, I can say a lot of unpleasant things about someone if I have a reason. It bothers me, however, to engage in an election campaign with such an objective. This is not in my nature, nor could I say that "I would show you how clever and good I would be if I were elected president." [passage omitted]

### Izetbegovic Cites Pressure To Attend London Talks

*LD2107181892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—President of the Muslim-Croatian Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic has said he accepted participation in the London negotiations of Bosnia-Hercegovina's three national communities only under pressure exerted on him by the European Community (E.C.) and Lord Carrington who chairs the conference on Yugoslavia.

Izetbegovic, leader of Bosnian Muslims, told the Sarajevo magazine NEDELJA in an interview that the world "shuns a military option like the devil," but, according to him, this was "the only alternative to political negotiations."

Muslim representatives have several times taken part—only under international pressure—in sessions of the E.C.-brokered conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina which decides on a future constitutional organization of the republic ridden for the past three and a half months by a civil war between Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

The Muslim side, having constantly broken the hitherto ceasefire accords, now violated also the latest truce agreement signed in London on Friday [17 July] in the desire to lay the blame for the violation on Bosnian Serbs and to bring about a foreign military intervention.

"Our presence at the London talks was entirely a result of pressures," said Izetbegovic and added that a Muslim delegation had gone there "so that (we) would not be accused of being uncooperative and of favouring a military option rather than negotiations."

### Carrington, Ganic Discuss Serbian Talks

*AU2107191192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Lord Carrington telephoned Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, this afternoon from Belgrade. Here is Dzevdet Tuzlic from the International Press Center reporting on this conversation:

[Tuzlic] Lord Carrington gave a message to Dr. Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, for President Alija Izetbegovic, who was absent due to having left for Zagreb by plane early this morning. Carrington told Ganic about today's talks with the Serbian or the so-called Yugoslav authorities. Carrington stressed that he had sharply protested to the Serbian authorities on his own behalf and that of the international community because of the continued bombardment and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He asked the president of the legal authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina to restrain from military activities and to persist in respecting the London cease-fire agreement. He stressed that the international community is working at a quicker pace to set up a mechanism in order to establish control over heavy weapons, which are the most crucial factor in the balance of power between the aggressor and defensive forces on the battlefields of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

### General MacKenzie Reviews Situation, Mission

*AU2107204292*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1200 GMT on 21 July 1992 carries a live relay of an approximately hour-long news conference given by General Lewis MacKenzie, commander of UN forces in Sarajevo, at the International Press Center in Sarajevo.

The news conference is opened by Goran Milic, press center director, and there is a translator working in Serbo-Croatian and English. Milic asks the first question regarding the situation at Sarajevo airport, and MacKenzie replies: "Unfortunately, last night we had about 12 rounds of mortars which came in in and around the UNHCR [UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees] complex and therefore we were somewhat concerned about the operations today. However, this morning dawned bright and sunny in Sarajevo and it was relatively quiet in the Dobrinja area. We commenced operations and brought seven aircraft in.

"About two hours ago we had another single mortar bomb land beside the UNHCR building and we suspended operations only for a few minutes. The airport is open and operating again.

"On the direction of UNHCR, we will only receive 10 to 12 aircraft a day instead of the normal 20, so we do not have more than one parked stationary at the airport at any one time. In spite of the tense situation, we will continue to operate the airport just as long as we can."

He adds that the airport is only open for delegations which are "in the pursuit of a meaningful cease-fire" because the airport agreement has not been fulfilled by both sides and therefore the airport cannot be opened for other business.

In reply to a second question from Milic on why he is leaving Sarajevo, MacKenzie denies various press reports about the reasons for his departure and explains the arrangement of the UN forces regarding nationality. He concludes: "I must add, I will leave Sarajevo with a great deal of regret because while we have fulfilled our mandate of opening the airport and delivering food and medicine there is a lot more work to be done."

In assessing the difficulty of the Sarajevo mission, MacKenzie says: "This is my ninth UN peacekeeping mission and if you add all the other ones together and multiply by a factor of ten, that is about how difficult this one is."

In reply to a question from an unidentified reporter on locating weapons, MacKenzie explains: "We have two Ukrainian mortar location, artillery location, radars that

have arrived. One is in place and the other one hopefully will be in place either today or tomorrow. Now when you combine the radars with the presence of our people on the vast majority of artillery and mortar positions on both sides, the combination of that, I am at least optimistic that we will be in a pretty good position to identify the person who is breaching the cease-fire." He goes on to describe the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sarajevo as "quite unique" since artillery is frequently used to respond to an infantry attack and then the other side responds with mortars or artillery and it is difficult to know which side to blame.

MacKenzie is then asked about his lack of objectivity in treating the "aggressors" and "defenders" and he explains that Bosnia-Hercegovina asked for a peacekeeping force and that is what it got. He says that the UN force are the only people who will deal with "the other side" because no one else will. He points out that if they were not there to do this Izetbegovic would not have gone to Zagreb today and the Olympic team would not be going to Barcelona tomorrow.

In reply to a question on the incident between UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces yesterday when 12,000 bullets were supposedly found in an UNPROFOR convoy, MacKenzie explains the situation whereby they were accused of smuggling weapons and ammunition to "the chetniks." He says that both sides then verified that the ammunition was from Canada and the United States and the Bosnian side apologized. He explains that it is not usual to carry this amount of ammunition.

After explaining the difference between peacekeeping and peacemaking forces, MacKenzie says that his personal opinion is that the only solution to the crisis is a constitutional and political solution because people get killed in a military solution. MacKenzie also explains what he has said to both sides during talks and analyzes the military position of "the other side." He says this situation is a "difficult" one and "the only way to resolve it is by talking. My personal opinion is that if discussions do not take place then one side will win and one side will lose."

MacKenzie goes on to say that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not need a peacekeeping force but an international commission to give an unbiased opinion of what is happening. He expresses concern at the fact that the world is focusing too much on Sarajevo and neglecting other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He then says: "I know that the scale of retaliation has been out of proportion. However, let me tell you that over the last two weeks that is no longer the case. There is plenty of shelling going on from both sides and the data is quite precise as to when it started. And that is also complicated by the fact both sides—and we happen to know how much both sides are cheating—both sides have cheated in the centralization of their heavy weapons to about the same extent. So the centralization of weapons has been to your distinct advantage because now the weapons on both sides that we do not watch are about equal in number. According to the London agreement, they are all supposed to magically be declared today and show up at our positions, but I have been here too long and I do not believe that is going to happen."

In reply to a question on the tasks of the new battalion, MacKenzie says that the three new battalions will together have fewer vehicles than the Canadian battalion and only 400 more people than the Canadian battalion. He adds that in his opinion they would need 40,000 extra personnel for a peacemaking operation in Sarajevo alone.

He then comments on how relations with both sides have changed over time. He assesses the UN forces' relationships with the Serbs and the Presidency as "good working relationships." He says that there is never any problem at the top level in brokering agreements and maintaining good relations, but he adds that lies and mistruths about the UN forces' activities change the attitude of ordinary citizens.

Answering the final question regarding the secrecy of MacKenzie's reports to Butrus-Ghali, MacKenzie says that his reports to Nambiar are always in code and that this is the way he reports to the UN Headquarters so that it is impossible for them to be leaked.

### Canadian Camp Hit During Fighting in Sarajevo

*LD2207085892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 22 Jul 92*

[Text] Sporadic sniper and machine-gun fire could be heard in the Bosnian capital Sarajevo following fierce fighting last night. According to UN spokesperson (?Mik Magnusson), Camp Beaver where Canadian soldiers are staying in the western part of the city sustained several direct hits overnight, but no one was injured. The UN official went on to say that fighting broke out at around midnight and lasted for more than two hours.

### Croatian Party Responds to Muslim Criticism

*LD2107181792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] In reaction to statements made in public by the Executive Committee of the Zenica branch of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] on 12 and 19 July—reported by the Bosnia-Hercegovina media—which contained an open attack on the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the HVO for Central Bosnia issued a statement today signed by Dario Kordic, vice president of the HVO for the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia.

In the statement, Kordic stresses that the SDA leaders have been using misrepresentations and lies about the HVO to conceal their incompetence in organizinge the defense of the Muslim nation which, by following the

political message of the SDA, is heading toward self-annihilation, Dario Kordic says. He goes on to stress the following:

The extent to which the legal and legitimate authorities in the region of Zenica are functioning and the level of security that they are capable of providing for individual citizens regardless of their national affiliation or political beliefs are demonstrated by the real situation there. In other words, everyone in Zenica and throughout central Bosnia knows that Zenica is full of criminals, that honest citizens are being harassed, apartments are being broken into, and people are being detained in the notorious local penal institution to which access is not allowed even to representatives of the International Red Cross.

The statement goes on to say that although officially opposed to the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the SDA is in the process of creating a pure Muslim canton in an attempt to comply with Karadzic's plan of creating ethnically pure areas. Kordic cites as an evidence of blind hatred of anything that is not Muslim the case of the president of the Zenica Municipal Assembly who a few days ago issued the following order: Burn the tanks and destroy the Zenica HVO once and for all.

We wish to express our indignation over an incident provoked by the Bosnia-Hercegovina territorial defense members in Novi Travnik and Busovaca and over an unfortunate incident outside the cathedral in Sarajevo on 19 July. An increasing number of provocations against members of the HVO and frequent acts of harassment of Croats by individuals from the Bosnia-Hercegovina territorial defense make us ask ourselves if these are merely incidents and nothing else, a statement issued by the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and signed by the party's vice chairman, Anto Bakovic, says. We ask the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to state if all these actions mark the return to a policy which over preceding years was systematically pursued against Croats and whether all this is a signal for a new exodus of Croats from this territory.

## Serb Republic Plans to 'Revitalize Production'

*LD2007150592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 20 Jul 92*

[Text] Pale, July 20 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is intensifying efforts to revitalize production in the areas in which local Serbs have establish their rule, Prime Minister Branko Djeric said on Monday [20 July].

Djeric told SRNA, the news agency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, the government was intent on changing production programmes and engaging a needed number of experts.

The Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina currently uses 25-30 percent of its economic capacities, Djeric said adding that only the electric power industry operated normally.

Sufficient quantities of oil and oil products have been secured for farm works and the republic's commodity reserves bureau is to buy all food surplus, Djeric set out.

He said the Government of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina would soon sign an agreement on money transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"We remain open also for the other republics of former Yugoslavia and we are ready to sign agreements also with them," said Djeric.

Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed their Republic on April 7. The move followed the E.C. recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, at the request by the Muslim-Croat coalition and without the consent of Serbs who are one of the republic's constituent peoples.

### Tudjman, Izetbegovic Comment on Talks

*LD2107143992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Report on talks between President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic in Zagreb on 21 July by correspondent Andjelko Perincic—recorded]

[Text] [Perincic] President Dr. Franjo Tudjman was the first to address correspondents:

[Tudjman] Talks between the state delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have been held. During the first round of talks, we discussed the general position of both republics and general questions regarding our mutual relations, the establishment of diplomatic relations, and cooperation in all other areas. The talks are to be resumed between the prime ministers and certain department ministers, and will end this evening with a joint meeting. A statement will be issued which will be distributed to you following the end of the talks. I can say that the talks were not only, as it is usually said, interesting and exhaustive, but also very fruitful.

[Perincic] Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic added:

[Izetbegovic] I would like to add that they were also very open. Very open and honest talks free from any pretensions and hidden thoughts. I hope they will be very useful. Talks will resume this afternoon. Department ministers will meet now to discuss questions regarding cooperation in defense, refugee issue, payment transactions, transport, and other issues, but I would like to say that I used a part of my time to inform President Tudjman and his associates—as they say right from the horses mouth—about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, both politically and militarily.

[Perincic] The first question from a correspondent was whether the two states made a military pact.

[Izetbegovic] No, we did not talk about that. We said we would cooperate. So far we have cooperated. Real cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina—facing the aggression—already exists. This has not been formalized. I am not quite sure whether this will be formalized at all. I do not know whether that will be necessary, but military efforts will be coordinated. Cooperation will most probably exist in this sense. There is nothing standing in the way of cooperation.

[Perincic] What else was discussed at the meeting between the two delegations?

[Tudjman] All essential issues concerning the international position of the two states and mutual cooperation. Particularly those sensitive issues.

[Izetbegovic] Mr. Tudjman was particularly interested in the position of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We presented our views, Mr. Tudjman and his associates their views. I hold that there are no essential differences whatsoever in this regard.

[Perincic] Correspondents put a question regarding the fate of military conscripts from Bosnia-Hercegovina who were returned from Croatia to their homeland.

[Tudjman] This is also one of the issues we will discuss. In any case, Croatia, which is now accommodating almost 400,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina, cannot provide for those who remain on the battlefields to fight the aggressor in these war conditions.

[Izetbegovic] I would like to stress that those were not soldiers who returned. Please, be so kind and explain to them that these were not soldiers. There were army conscripts among the refugees. So these were not soldiers.

[Perincic] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's reply to a question whether they discussed cantonisation of Bosnia-Hercegovina was:

[Tudjman] Both delegations expressed their agreement that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be organized on the basis of the three constitutive nations.

[Perincic] Talks between members of the two delegations are to be resumed this afternoon.

### President Views Opposition as 'Rickety Outsiders'

*92BA1193C Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 92 p 16*

[Article by Dr. Hrvoje Kacic: "In Croatia Nothing New"]

[Text] The same day when the Croatian president and government scheduled elections, the first forecast of their results came out. One of the leaders of the HNS [Croatian People's Party] foresees that what happened to Winston Churchill in 1945—winning the war and losing the election—could also happen to Tudjman. The president himself need not be altogether dissatisfied with that comparison. That is, he is being given credit for winning the war, and it is not every day that you get that kind of gift from a direct adversary. It is much more difficult to deal with those who believe that the outcome of the war is different and who fear this kind of outcome: Tudjman loses the war, but still wins the election.

The president will certainly enter into a particularly fierce duel with such people, and the tar and feathers are probably already being prepared for them in his election headquarters.

In the meantime, the president has contented himself with "only" proclaiming his opponents to be rickety outsiders who together cannot put together more than 30 percent of the vote. So, 70 for him and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], and 30 for all the rest! On the eve of the last election, Tudjman predicted somewhat less for himself and his people, 60 percent,

and he proved to be a rather good forecaster (although he received abundant help from the election law). But there is an essential difference between that time and this. At that time, Tudjman was president of the HDZ, and that estimate did not lie outside the framework of political forecasting. Now, though, that same man is president of the state, so that when he predicts all of 70 percent of the vote for his party—although the polls give him half of that—there remain serious reasons for doubt as to whether that is an ordinary prediction or no means are being spared to that goal.

**The Opposition Has Scattered**

Approximately two months ago the opposition announced severe countermeasures in response to possible manipulation of the election, and in closed meetings they have taken up the possibility of boycotting it, but then they have retreated step by step from the most radical demands. Finally, last week the Coordinating Committee of Parliamentary Opposition Parties "took up the challenge" of the elections, although suspicion as to their regularity and the justifiability of calling them when "war is still being waged in the Republic of Croatia, when war is escalating with unforeseeable consequences on our borders and in the fraternal Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and when the Republic of Croatia is under the magnifying glass of the international public" because of "serious mistakes of the government" have not been withdrawn.

At the same time, all of the announced and unannounced coalitions have come to naught, and the Coordinating Committee has brought its effort to an end, so that all the members are entering the election quite independently, competing as much with one another as with the incumbent party. The first brick was pulled from the ill-fated common front by the Croatian People's Party, which opposed the boycott from the outset, and recently refused to sign even the list of joint opposition demands which it itself has been insisting on: representation of the parties in election commissions, regularization of voter lists, monitoring of election expenditures, adoption of an election code—solely because it announces "reassessment of the point of holding the election" in case of rejection.

The explanation has come in from the HNS that a boycott would unnecessarily extend the tenure of the incumbent party, but surely there are other things to explain why this party is going against the grain of the others. First of all, there is the fear of the HNS being diluted in some new "coalition," memories of the inglorious National Consensus Coalition are still painful, and there is probably also the fear that a boycott could be seen as an "unpatriotic" act. A similar fear, for that matter has been displayed by all the other parties, so that there is no insistence at all on certain demands which one would expect the opposition would vigorously put, indeed even as an ultimatum. Thus, the Coordinating Committee of Opposition Parties merely takes note that 10 percent of the voters will vote abroad under "undefined conditions"—the HNS not even that many—although this opens so many questions that even the government itself cannot conceal them. The government, of course, is revealing only that part of the problem which troubles it—the possibility of voting only in diplomatic missions and in some countries not even there—while it is silent about the main problem. And this is that the electorate abroad is so "undefined," i.e., amorphous, that it could be "cooked" any way you like, so that when the vote comes in from New Zealand or Brazil, as a practical matter it will not be possible to verify its authenticity.

The convulsiveness of the opposition and its inability to put these questions are above all the result of the constant suspicion that it is "anti-Croat," and is even imputed with the very desire to "destroy Croatia" with a victory in the election.

But it would be difficult to harm the opposition with this corporal's talk about not having placed itself in the confined limits of an ethnically oriented opposition. This is no accusation at all—at least in the first years it simply could not be avoided—but it is some kind of a burden. In Croatia, there is practically no party that would be an authentic interpreter of the ideas that prevail today in Europe, even though everyone is alluding to it. There exists, to be sure, a certain number of parties which meet the highest European standards with respect to ethics in politics, methods of operation that preclude force...and that is what makes the Croatian opposition superior in general to the one in Serbia. But in Zagreb, at least for now, it is still not possible to imagine anything similar to what the Belgrade students are doing—except to some extent on the part of certain regional parties—and that is what defines the "cramped nature" of the present Croatian political scene, on which it is not advisable to pose even such elementary demands for the election to be honest.

It is no wonder, then, that some of the main election topics have been defined by people who do not belong to the parties.

## Federal

### Lord Carrington Arrives, Meets With Leaders

#### Cosic Comments on Talks

*AU2107205192 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Interview with Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by unidentifed reporters in Belgrade on 21 July—recorded]

[Text] [Cosic] My talks with Lord Carrington were substantial and very difficult, just as the situation in which we live is. We acquainted each other with our positions. I must admit that we differed very seriously about some problems, but, at the same time, I also saw this meeting as a meeting of hope, with a conviction that Mr. Carrington will grasp and understand our circumstances and in his good intentions manage both to help peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina be achieved and the situation in the Balkans to be settled.

[Reporter] Can you tell us what these differences were?

[Cosic] Well, above all there were differences about the way to solve the Kosovo question.

[Reporter] Which points did you agree on and on which were there still [word indistinct]?

[Cosic] There was most agreement on solutions to the Bosnian crisis. There are no important differences about that, which is the most important issue. We have some different views about Kosovo. However, I hope that over time—and we in Yugoslavia ourselves will certainly contribute with the policy we have been carrying out and the efforts we are making—we shell certainly manage to solve this difficult Kosovo problem successfully and as soon as possible, fully convinced that the present situation is very, very unfavorable both for the Albanians and the Serbs living there. Certainly, the Kosovo question is also extraordinarily important for the consolidation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Question] Mr. Milosevic has not agreed with an international conference on Kosovo. Do you agree with that, and what were the positions in the discussion today?

[Cosic] You are going to hear Lord Carrington talk about that. My views are ... [changes thought] and also I do not see, and if you want to know, I do not know what Mr. Milosevic said. I cannot interpret him and am not in the position to do so. I can only tell you that I do not accept an international conference on Kosovo and Metohija either, at the moment. I think that there has never been such a conference in the history of solving minority questions.

[Question] Mr. President, who is going to represent Yugoslavia at the future Conference on Yugoslavia, as a continuation has been announced. As you know, representatives of republics, of the two republics, have been doing so to date.

[Cosic] Yes, yes. As of now, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be represented by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As you know, according to the new Constitution, republics will not be able to carry out state policy, that is, foreign policy, monetary policy, policy of (?external) ... of course the Army, that is, defense, and the economic relations with foreign countries, therefore, all those basic state functions that were so far the jurisdiction of the republics are being transferred to the federal state.

[Question] [word indistinct] President, tell us one more thing: Mr. Panic's visit to Sarajevo and this latest violation of cease-fire have been probably also touched upon.

[Cosic] No, that was not mentioned. Lord Carrington will tell you about that. You should not ask me to interpret him.

#### Carrington Discusses Cease-Fire Violations

*LD2107181292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, said in Belgrade today: "All three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina are violating the cease-fire, but the Muslims perhaps more than the others."

At a press conference following the series of talks he had in Belgrade and by telephone from Belgrade, the British diplomat said that he had pointed out to the leaders of the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina that "the Muslims were also to blame—if not the most—for the violations of the cease-fire, that is, the London agreement."

"I asked Milosevic to talk to Karadzic again and to make it clear to him how important this agreement is. I wanted to tell President Izetbegovic that the Muslims are also to blame—if not more so—for the violations of the cease-fire. In his absence, I telephoned Ganic and told him this," Lord Carrington said.

Carrington interpreted the cease-fire violations in two ways: Either the negotiations were insincere or there is no complete control over the warring sides.

"If it is the first reason, this leads nowhere, but if it is the latter, then the situation is somewhat better," Carrington said. He added that he was disappointed after his visit to Belgrade with regard to the cease-fire agreement and the talks on Kosovo but "slightly encouraged regarding the question of the Republic of Serbian Krajina."

He said that the leader of the Kosovo Albanians, Ibrahim Rugova, had confirmed to him his readiness to talk about the status of Kosovo "without conditions."

The Serbian president, however, was not prepared to talk about the internationalization of the Kosovo problem,

nor does he consider Rugova the real representative of the Albanians. The same view is held by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic, Carrington said.

"Milosevic thinks that the issue of Kosovo is different from that of the status of the Serb regions in Croatia. I see no difference. There can be no independence for Kosovo or changes in the borders, but Kosovo must be given some kind of autonomy within Serbia," Lord Carrington said.

He said that "Rugova represents enough Albanians from Kosovo" and that the attitude of the Serbian president and the Serbian authorities would create "problems in further talks about Kosovo."

The British diplomat confirmed that while in Belgrade he had a meeting with Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and his aides Stojan Spanovic and Dobroslav Vejzovic.

"They accepted unconditionally the idea of talks about Krajina's special status," Carrington said.

At journalists' insistence that he be more specific and say if that meant that the Krajina representatives have abandoned the idea of negotiations on the basis of independence, he repeated: "I told them that under no circumstances would they be recognized as independent and that they had to negotiate, and they have accepted that."

Lord Carrington also said that he will inform the current president of the EC about everything that has been done so far and about the present situation, with the aim of considering future steps; but in any case "negotiations about a truce cannot go on forever."

### Krajina Leader Denies Carrington Claim

*LD2107202392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 July (TANJUG)—Dobrosav Vejzovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, categorically denied that representatives of the Republic of Serbian Krajina accepted "negotiations on Krajina's special status within Croatia" in talks with Lord Carrington in Belgrade today.

Speaking at a press conference at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Belgrade today about his meeting with a delegation of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Lord Carrington said: "They accepted talks on the special status of Krajina without any conditions."

In his denial, Minister Vejzovic stresses that it is true that the delegation of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, headed by President Goran Hadzic, which also included Foreign Minister Dobrosav Vejzovic and Defence Minister Stojan Spanovic, had talks on the necessity to negotiate in order to resolve problems.

"But nothing precise was said in the talks. Only an agreement was reached to continue with contacts in mid-August and to talk about negotiation principles and preparation of atmosphere, but without any conditions from any side," Minister Vejzovic said.

### Government Condemns Cease-Fire Violations

*LD2107182692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—The Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia sharply condemned the violation of the two week ceasefire in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at separate sessions on Tuesday [21 July].

The agreement signed on Friday in London by representatives of the warring national communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Moslems, Serbs and Croats was violated immediately after it went into effect on Sunday at 6 p.m. local time.

Condemning ceasefire violations, notwithstanding which side was doing so, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government said that "this was a ruthless attack on efforts at setting up peace and the just resolving of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina by political means."

The government especially condemned attempts at bringing about a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina through ceasefire violations.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government appealed to all three warring sides to cease hostilities immediately and to observe the agreement. It also insisted that persons responsible for ceasefire violations be punished.

At the same time, the Yugoslav Government requested of the United Nations Peace Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) to urgently determine which side had violated the ceasefire first and to make that information public.

The Serbian Government also believes that it is the duty of the signatories of the agreement to determine those who are directly responsible for ceasefire violations. The Republics of Serbia and Montenegro make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It is "in the interest of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the continuation of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina" to secure the observing of the agreement.

The urgent resumption of this conference is in the interests of setting up a stable peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the entire region, said an [word indistinct] issued after the Serbian Government session.

## Prime Minister Calls For International Observers

*LD2107200492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] United Nations, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, has called on the international communiuty to send observers to all Yugoslav military bases to see that not a single Yugoslav aircraft or helicopter, tank, ship or soldier is marching or will march on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Panic has made this appeal at the United Nations Press Club today.

Panic said that his call to the international community is "the first concrete peace initiative, which will be followed by many others in the next few months." Panic informed reporters at the United Nations that he is firmly resolved to return peace in the Yugoslav space, and to work toward lifting the Security Council sanctions and for the economic prosperity of Yugoslavia.

Panic stressed that he became the prime minister at the most difficult moment for his country, but that during his numerous contacts made in the first week of work, he succeeded in getting support for peace efforts from leading international personalities, such as French President Mitterrand, UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Secretary of State Baker, the British, Italian and Russian foreign ministers, and many other prominent personalities including negotiators in peace talks on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance and the Security Council members.

During the press conference, Panic said that, regarding the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he believes that a feeling of moral responsibility will prevail among all three nations, Serbs, Muslims and Croats, and that "the forces of good will defeat the forces of evil created by cheap politicians in their race for power."

As long as I am the prime minister of Yugoslavia, no attack will be launched from Serbia, Panic said.

Asked about the division of power between himself and Serbian President Milosevic, Panic noted his constitutional powers and said that President Milosevic has his, and as long as they do not interfere in each other's business, events will take the best course.

Regarding the problem of Kosovo, Panic stressed that the right to self-determination of each nation, Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, Croats in Bosnia, and Albanians in Yugoslavia, must be respected, but that this right can be realized only by peaceful means, through negotiations and without the use of force. He told journalists that he has instructed his education minister to open schools for both Albanian and Serbian children in Kosovo. We will also transform the Justice Ministry, he said, and we have created a Ministry for Human Rights and Minorities, which will have plenty to do in Kosovo.

Panic assessed as "inadequate and behind the times" the EC decision to recommend expulsion of Yugoslavia from international organizations. He stressed that this is "rather the work of international bureaucracy, which acts slowly, than international politics" and expressed the hope that the decision will not be implemented. [passage omitted]

## Budget Discussed at First 'Working' Session

*LD2107211992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 July (TANJUG)—There are no conditions for a full anti-inflation program without the abolition of sanctions, but the Federal Government will work toward the curbing of inflation through the adoption of some laws, Dr. Oskar Kovac, vice president of the Federal Government, said at a press conference in the Palace of the Federation today.

The press conference was held immediately after the first working session of the federal government; this will be, as Federal Information Minister Miodrag Perisic said, a new practice in the communications between the government and information media. In addition to the brief press conferences like this one today, the public will be informed about the basic government stands through its statements, Perisic added.

The information minister informed the journalists that the government discussed the methods of its functioning at its session today. A temporary book of procedure was adopted and working bodies were founded on the basis of which the government will function, he explained.

The working bodies are the following six commissions: The Commission for the Political and Legal System, the Commission for the Economic System, Economic Policy and Development, the Commission for Foreign Relations, the Commission for Internal Policy, Security and Defense, the Commission for Relations with Religious Communities, and the Commission for Administrative Issues. Relations with the UN Protection Force, according to a decision adopted today, will also be in the government's jurisdiction: The prime minister will be in charge of this, instead of the state committee as has been the case so far.

Perisic informed journalists about the contents of a statement which the government issued today regarding violation of the cease-fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Replying to a journalist's question, Oskar Kovac, vice president of the Federal Government, who presided over today's session since the prime minister was absent, pointed out in particular the new structure of the federal budget which will be proposed to the Federal Assembly by the government.

The entire budget, adopted early this year, was spent in seven months. We found an empty safe, Kovac said, and noted that as much as 97.3 percent of these funds had been obtained by primary money issues.

For the period from 1 August to the end of this year, the government has suggested a new budget structure which

will not as yet be fully financed from real sources, which is from increases in social product, since there is no such increase, Kovac explained. Nevertheless, by this new budget structure, we wanted to make it clear that we are opening a new chapter and shifting from total reliance on primary money issues to a number of our own financial sources, the vice president stressed.

As of 1 August, all federal customs duties, 40 percent of all taxes levied in Yugoslavia, various administrative, stamp and other duties as well as compensations to federal organs for their services will be paid in to the federal budget.

Kovac also added that for the first time the federation will be present on the financial and capital market. It will release state-backed bonds and sell them on a short-term basis and then pay for them [as received].

We have met representatives of commercial banking and they estimate, the government vice president said, that there will be people interested in buying these state-backed bonds, which will make it possible for the monetary and capital market to be operational. This extra 18 percent of the budgetary funds will be secured through borrowing from the capital markets. This is a deficit-generating way of borrowing, but it is nevertheless a common method in market economies, he added.

Counting on the funds collected in this way, we are going to cover some 34 percent of the federal budget, Kovac made it clear. This bad routine cannot be abruptly stopped overnight. Nonetheless, this direction whereby primary money issues are to be reduced from 97 to 34 percent is the message we want to convey, Kovac explained.

In Kovac's words, the government, together with the Yugoslav National Bank, is yet to find some other ways of reducing primary money issue in order to alleviate the inflationary consequences of printing the money earmarked for the budget. more

Kovac announced that this evening the federal government will send to the Federal Assembly a draft federal budget, i.e. a document on the temporary financing of the federation this year, which should be adopted until 1 August at the latest, when it should come into force. The five-month budget reaches the amount of 57.995 billion dinars, i.e. $290 million, according to the official rate of exchange.

Vice President Kovac added that the share of the Army in the federal budget has been reduced from 83 to 73 percent. A few additional legal regulations will go to the Federal Assembly along with the budget, Kovac stressed, reducing funds to all departments in comparison with what they had sought. [passage omitted]

## Serbia

### Milosevic Comments on Talks With Carrington

*AU2107171092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 92*

[Slobodan Jankovic report]

[Text] The talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Peter Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, lasted almost two hours. Leaving the Serbian Presidency building, Lord Carrington did not want to comment on the meeting. Milosevic addressed the gathered domestic and foreign journalists by saying the following:

[Begin recording] As always, the talks were open [otvoren]. We did not agree about the issues that were raised during the talks, however. Lord Carrington raised the issue of a conference on Kosovo. As you know, he received Ibrahim Rugova [leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and president] in London yesterday. He briefed us on the proposal to hold a conference on issues concerning Kosovo. This conference would be attended by the representatives of the Government of Serbia, Kosovo, and the Conference on Yugoslavia. We have different views on this. I would like to briefly explain to you what these views reflected.

First of all, I do not think that Rugova represents Kosovo. I do not even think that Rugova represents all Albanians. You remember very well that less than a month ago I received a 30-member delegation of Albanians from all Kosovo communes. They have a completely different view on the future of Kosovo. They oppose the separatist movement in Kosovo. They do not think that Rugova represents them. They are striving for coexistence on equal footing, coexistence of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and all other people who live in Kosovo. Therefore, as regards Rugova, there is no doubt that not only does he not represent Kosovo, but he does not even represent, in a legal sense, the Albanian minority in Kosovo.

Second, regarding an international conference on Kosovo, I think that one must bear in mind the fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—and the Republic of Serbia that is in it—is a sovereign and independent state, and that this is an internal matter for Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Therefore, this is an internal matter that should be resolved within the framework of the legal institutions in Serbia, because Kosovo is an autonomous province within Serbia. Therefore, we will respect our international obligations. These obligations oblige us to respect the highest CSCE standards with regard to the rights of minorities. We are indeed ready to respect the highest CSCE standards with regard to the rights of minorities. These are our obligations.

These standards, however, do not at all include the right of any minority, including the Albanian minority, to set up their own state, to set up their own republic, to strive

for the secession of Kosovo from Serbia, nor to harm the territorial integrity of Serbia in any way.

As regards to the other side, I must say that I very positively appreciate the approach by Lord Carrington. The approach of the international community and the EC is completely clear. They do not support any separatist movement, they do not support secession of Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia. Therefore, they do not support any concept of a republic of Kosovo, especially not any idea that would violate the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Therefore, there is no major disagreement about this key issue. There are some disagreements, however, in the views on the realization of the human and civil rights of the Albanian minority. As is known, Serbia is prepared to hold talks at all possible levels with the representatives of all minorities and to fulfill in every way the (?highest) CSCE standards with regard to the rights of minorities, even more than that, because, as you know, Serbia is the only country that has two autonomous regions. Serbia as an independent republic, and Yugoslavia as independent state, however, hold the view—I am of course speaking on behalf of Serbia and not Yugoslavia, but everything we are doing we are doing within the framework of international relations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—that its internal issues and relations between its own government and its own citizens can be established directly, and is inviting the citizens to establish this directly rather then indirectly via some international agencies. Of course, this does not mean that these talks cannot be public. On the contrary, and I said this today, these talks, whatever they are, can be conducted in front of television cameras, they can be attended by anyone, even representatives of the CSCE, the EC, or anyone else, because we do not have anything to hide.

We do not think that a third party should mediate in the settlement of issues concerning the Republic of Serbia and its own citizens in our country, within our sovereignty and independence. I hope that we will achieve a higher level of understanding in this respect, especially because, as is known, within the Conference on Yugoslavia there is a commission for human and minority rights. You have just seen Ambassador (?Arens), who is in charge of this commission. I hope that it will be possible to establish within this commission what indeed Serbia could be reproached for regarding violation of the rights of minorities, in this case the rights of Albanians in Kosovo.

(?As you know), it is calm in Kosovo, there are no political prisoners there. There are no restrictions in Kosovo, not only on political delegations or diplomats, but also on tourists, tradesmen, or citizens who want to go either to or from Kosovo for personal reasons. Therefore, we do not think that a special situation exists which requires such a conference. We really think that a dialogue should be opened as soon as possible and, as you know, the Government of the Republic of Serbia has called for dialogue in vain several times within the last two months alone. I hope that the statement the Albanian representatives made in London yesterday was sincere as regards their acceptance—unconditional acceptance, as they put it—of a dialogue with the Government of the Republic of Serbia. Therefore, if they said that they unconditionally accept a dialogue with the Government of the Republic of Serbia, the Government of the Republic of Serbia will be very much prepared to listen to all their remarks about the possible violations of their rights, and even to very carefully examine the remarks they may send through various international institutions, including the CSCE. I want to repeat, and I want to conclude by saying, that it is indisputable that both the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will certainly respect the highest CSCE standards concerning the rights of national minorities. There will be no dispute about that, so I hope that no new conflicts will be created. [end recording]

Asked his view of the violated cease-fire agreement in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Milosevic said the following:

[Begin recording] I think that whoever has violated the agreement, the accord on the cease-fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has committed a serious crime. We have no information about who has violated this agreement so far, but I can say now that regardless of whether it was violated by Muslims, Serbs, or Croats, whoever has done so has committed a serious crime against peace and against a constructive solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I think that the Government of the Republic of Serbia has already officially condemned [words indistinct] the violation of the agreement. I think that there is only one way out of this: This agreement must be respected. Therefore, all sides would have to take upon themselves the responsibility of establishing and punishing the culprit for violating the agreement. If they—any of the sides—treat the violators of the cease-fire agreement too lightly, this is by no means going to be understood as a constructive step in solving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is absolutely clear. [end recording]

According to the schedule announced for his visit to Belgrade, Lord Carrington will have talks with Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at the Palace of the Federation at 1500. After this meeting he will hold a news conference at the Belgrade Hyatt Hotel.

## DS Leader Proposes New Conference on Bosnia

*LD2107212992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 21 Jul 92*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Peter Carrington and President of the opposition Democratic Party (DS) in Serbia Dragoljub Micunovic agreed on Tuesday [22

July] that peace was the pre-condition for a political solution to the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In the talks in Belgrade, where Carrington was on a one-day visit, the two sides agreed that this especially pertained to the war-afflicted former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Heavy fighting was going on for the past three and half months between the local Serbs on the one and the Moslem-Croatian coalition on the other.

For his part, Micunovic, as set out, informed the British diplomat with the proposal of the DS—the second strongest party in the Serbian Parliament—about the new conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina at which the five former Yugoslav republics and the five permanent U.N. Security Council members would take part.

## President Denies Blame for Bosnian Conflict

*PM2107143692 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Jul 92 p 4*

[Interview with President Slobodan Milosevic by Eric Laurent; date and place not given]

[Text] [Laurent] The EC countries and the United States have decided to adopt a tougher position toward Serbia. How do you plan to react to this growing stance?

[Milosevic] I hope that the radicalization which you mention will only constitute a temporary extreme position like the swing of the pendulum. We are being subjected to sanctions which are justified by Serbia's alleged aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, there is not a single Serbian soldier in that republic. It is not very difficult for the big powers to exert strong pressure on a small country like ours and I would like to add that it is not very worthy.

I would like to be shown documents which prove our interference in the civil war which is taking place in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It ought to be simple for a country like the United States, for instance, to produce such evidence if it has it.

[Laurent] So you think that the imposition of sanctions on you is unfair?

[Milosevic] This method of exerting pressure by sanctions was started by the EC. Remember when and why. It was decreed when we refused to ratify a document proposed by the mediator Lord Carrington because that document implicitly provided for the abolition of the Yugoslav state. We were subjected to international sanctions solely because we did not agree to watch our state being dissolved.

[Laurent] You give the impression that you think that the Western leaders are giving different treatment to Serbia and the other peoples of former Yugoslavia?

[Milosevic] There are interests which dictate the dissolution of Yugoslavia, intersets which would stand to gain from such a dissolution and which could also extend their influence. You know very well what I am talking about.

[Laurent] Are you thinking of Germany?

[Milosevic] Perhaps....

[Laurent] According to you, what is the origin of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Milosevic] Everything stems from the adventurist policy followed by the Bosnian leaders. Mr. Izetbegovic and the Bosnian Muslim leaders thought that dismantling Yugoslavia would enable them to create an Islamic state in Bosnia. In other words, they wanted to impose the interests of just one of the three peoples which make up Bosnia by crushing the interests of the other two. I have already said that Serbs and Muslims are brothers in Bosnia. A conflict between them can only serve their enemies' interests.

In a conflict of this type, there are no victors and no innocent people, aside from the civilians who bear the burden of the fighting. But I would like to add that the EC applies double standards here too. Bosnia-Hercegovina was quickly recognized—a state which had no assembly, no government, and no president, which did not even control its territory and did not have a new Constitution. I will tell you an anecdote: During the conference in Brussels chaired by Lord Carrington, we were told that the conference on Bosnia comprising representatives of the three communities had made some progress.

Immediately after that report, Mr. Izetbegovic asked to speak and demanded immediate recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I replied that it would not be wise to jeopardize the current negotiations which were developing positively by the hasty recognition of an entity because, at the time, nobody knew what that entity might represent. The stable situation free from armed conflict which still prevailed in Bosnia was disrupted and torpedoed by that hasty recognition.

[Laurent] Can you say that the federal army is not involved in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Milosevic] There is not a single soldier from the Yugoslav federal army in Bosnia-Hercegovina now. Serbia is not involved in that conflict in any way, it is a civil war. If there is any aggression against that republic, it is coming from Croatian forces. I know that the European observers know the exact number of Croatian units which are on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. There are 42,000 men from the regular Croatian army over there.

[Laurent] What influence do you have over the Serbian militias fighting in Bosnia?

[Milosevic] In Bosnia, the Serbian community has created an army modeled on the army created by the Muslim community and the one created by the Croatian community. All those armies have sprouted from the common trunk of the Federal Army which was deployed on those territories. The Yugoslav presidency insisted that all sides settle the question of the status of the army in Bosnia. A meeting even took place in Skopje to achieve demilitarization.

Those negotiations were broken off by Mr. Izetbegovic who entered Sarajevo and ordered the general attack on all the federal army barracks and some Serbian territories. That order was even published in the press. Mr. Izetbegovic subsequently denied it by saying it was a forgery.

[Laurent] But you have an influence on the Serbian forces in Bosnia?

[Milosevic] We do not have any influence over the military organization, the general staff. We only have contacts with the representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia, and we are trying to exert as much influence as possible to encourage an immediate cease-fire. The Bosnian Serb leaders approved our initiatives and, several times, declared unilateral cease-fires which the other side never respected.

[Laurent] Do you condemn the bombardment of Sarajevo?

[Milosevic] Completely. We did so publicly because we think those actions are pointless and this hotbed of confrontation must be extinguished to pave the way for peace negotiations. We insisted on the airport and city of Sarajevo being demilitarized. That corresponds to the position of the Serbian leadership in Bosnia, but not all the parties concerned agreed. I am convinced that without Mr. Mitterrand's surprise visit, the airport would still not be open. The Islamic militia's green berets have always refused to stop their harassment of the airport.

[Laurent] If Serbian goodwill is so obvious, how do you explain the fact that the French president firmly stated that "Serbia is now the aggressor?"

[Milosevic] I think that the French president, like many other prominent people, has received a large amount of false information about the real responsibility for the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It seems that there is a rule—a rather illogical one—which consists of always condemning whoever is strongest, in this case the Serbs in Bosnia.

[Laurent] And who do you think misled the French president?

[Milosevic] It is difficult to answer that question. I think that a subtle war of disinformation has been waged against Serbia. There is no doubt taht the civil war in Bosnia has claimed many victims. If you constantly receive pictures of killings and atrocities in which the Serbs are accused of committing those atrocities, you end up believing that those people are savages and murderers. There are many pictures of Serbian villages which have been destroyed, children burned, women raped, atrocities committed against the Serbs which we see on our screens and to which you do not have access on your Western televisions. Why this selectiveness?

[Laurent] Perhaps because very powerful images have been sent round the world and have shocked the public. For instance, the unprecedented violence of the siege against the city of Vukovar, or the bombardment of Dubrovnik.

[Milosevic] That is true. The pictures of the siege of Vukovar were disastrous for us. However, we never took part in the siege of Dubrovnik. From the start, the Serbian Government issued an appeal for the protection of Dubrovnik, as a cultural jewel. We have never had any territorial claim on that city. The Federal Army which blockaded Dubrovnik was only making basic demands—that the foreign mercenaries stationed in Dubrovnik should be removed and handed over to their embassies. Those people were committing unmentionable crimes in the region.

[Text] [Laurent] You therefore have no responsibility for the bombardment of Dubrovnik?

[Milosevic] Absolutely none! Did a single soldier leave Serbia to go to bombard or surround Dubrovnik? The bombardments are isolated. I remember that Lord Carrington told me once: "I have received information that Dubrovnik has been razed to the ground, destroyed." I replied: "I have no such information." Subsequently, the Yugoslav Government took a number of foreign ambassadors round Dubrovnik and they were able to see that the city had not been destroyed. It still has not been, although, unfortunately, it has been damaged.

[Laurent] What forces are besieging the city?

[Milosevic] I think that those which are in the Dubrovnik region are the Serbian local forces from Hercegovina, because the border is only a few kilometers away. In the immediate vicinity of Dubrovnik, there are confrontations between Serbian forces and local Croatian forces. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, there is no question of any form of siege of Dubrovnik at present.

[Laurent] But you deny action to surround or bombard the city?

[Milosevic] Absolutely! I do not think there is any reason for a single shell to be fired on Dubrovnik.

[Laurent] Are there not too many military forces which are not under any kind of control?

[Milosevic] I do not think there are many forces which are not under any control at present.

[Laurent] But, with regard to Dubrovnik, you have just spoken of Serbian forces which are apparently not under any control.

[Milosevic] The bulk of the Serbian military forces in Bosnia are under the control of the Serbian political leadership. But there is no doubt that a small number of groups linked to the three parties to the conflict are not under the control of the general staffs. Such situations are inevitable in a confrontation of this type.

[Laurent] The Bosnian president has called for a foreign military intervention to restore peace in his republic.

[Milosevic] What is happening in Bosnia is a civil war involving three sides. The internationalization of the conflict, by granting support to only one of these three sides, would be disastrous. The warring parties must all be made to sit down at the same table to discuss their problems; the continuation of the fighting must not be made more likely by granting military support to one of the sides. When you mention President Izetbegovic you are referring to only one of the sides involved.

But he is only first among peers within a seven-member collective presidency. Since the start of the conflict the Serbian side has declared that its objective was not to unite with Serbia and Yugoslavia but simply to secure respect for its identity, which is constitutionally equal in law to that of the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

[Laurent] Are you in favor of an international Conference on Yugoslavia's future?

[Milosevic] I support the initiative introduced by Francois Mitterrand, because it implies the involvement of the permanent members of the security forces [as published] and the parties involved in the Yugoslav crisis.

[Laurent] Are you still a communist?

[Milosevic] I founded the Serbian Socialist Party, which now has almost 500,000 members, half of whom are citizens who have never belonged to the Communist Party—or any other party, for that matter.

[Laurent] But are you yourself still a communist?

[Milosevic] The classification, communist or noncommunist, no longer makes sense in Yugoslavia today. I support the idea of a just and prosperous society; I do not see who could oppose it. In any case, the communism that existed in this country had nothing in common with that which prevailed behind the Iron Curtain.

[Laurent] Nevertheless you are suspected of maintaining an ultra-nationalistic stance in order to better conceal that communist past.

[Milosevic] Read my speeches, and if you can find any nationalistic ideas in them, then only then can you describe me as a nationalist.

[Laurent] Do you not regard yourself as a Serbian nationalist leader?

[Milosevic] I am a Serbian patriot; I am not a nationalist at all. I see no reason to hate any people whatever. I believe that nationalism no longer has any reason to exist at the end of the 20th century.

[Text] [Laurent] Have you advocated the idea of an "ethnically pure" Serbian state?

[Milosevic] Never. I consider the idea of an ethnically pure nation state a total aberration in our era. It is the most reactionary political conception you could imagine.

[Laurent] What is the most important political decision that you think you have made?

[Milosevic] I think it was Serbia's unification. If Serbia had not unified in 1990, with the terrible process of Yugoslavia's destruction that ensued, the Serbian people would now find themselves without a homeland again. Indeed, of all the Yugoslav republics, Serbia was the only one divided into three, through the fault of the 1974 constitution. The autonomous regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo obtained prerogatives virtually equivalent to those of an independent state.

We did not abolish the autonomy of Kosovo or Vojvodina: We simply eliminated their state prerogatives. The tensions in Kosovo do not stem from a confrontation with Islam. It is a confrontation with Albanian separatism, which officially claims an ethnically pure Kosovo, though Kosovo is the heart of Serbia and over 200,000 Serbs live there, having settled even before the first Albanians set foot there.

[Laurent] You consider the borders of the present Serbia untouchable. Could they not in some way be questioned?

[Milosevic] Who would question them, apart from the Albanian separatists?

[Laurent] Precisely: Is there not a certain contradiction on your part in demanding self-determination for the Serbs while refusing it to the Albanians, who account for 90 percent of Kosovo's population?

[Milosevic] The Serbs and Croats are peoples who had no other national state than Yugoslavia. Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Slovenes, and Macedonians were never regarded as national minorities in Yugoslavia. The Albanians are a national minority in Serbia. They can enjoy all the rights granted to minorities, but these rights do not permit them to leave the country and to unite with the neighboring state.

[Laurent] Will you never give way?

[Milosevic] Separate from Kosovo? Never. I do not think that any leader in my position could accept such a thing, and the Serbian people would not tolerate it, either. Look, in some big American cities have Chinatowns where the population is over 90 percent Chinese. How would the American authorities react if these Chinese were to unilaterally declare independence?

[Laurent] Are you worried by the rise in the Islamic movement?

[Milosevic] Everyone must be very worried about this phenomenon. It would be terrible if the world were to be split by religious ruptures while it is becoming increasingly united thanks to technological developments and communications.

[Laurent] Despite your confidence, you are being increasingly challenged within Serbia itself. The opposition to your policy is growing all the time...

[Milosevic] The fact that such an opposition exists is infallible proof of this country's level of democratization. There are now some 70 political parties. When you move from a single party system, to a pluralist system, you see an explosion of all kinds of interests and ideas.

Having said that, you cannot settle questions of power and government on the basis of the number of decibels that a particular pressure group produces. We will still be holding elections before the end of the year, so citizens will have the chance to say whom they trust.

[Laurent] In West Europe, you are compared more and more frequently with Saddam Husayn. People think that, like the Iraqi dictator, you believe only in cunning and force.

[Milosevic] I am sorry that such an image has spread, but it is totally unfounded. There are no restrictions on political activity in this country. I am criticized in the press every day, and no newspaper or television station has been sued for defamation or banned.

[Laurent] Nevertheless numerous political leaders abroad think that the situation in former Yugoslavia can only be resolved through a change of leadership in Belgrade.

[Milosevic] Then they are forgetting that the Yugoslav crisis did not start in Belgrade. It started with the unilateral secessions of Slovenia and Croatia, then other republics. People here lead normal lives, in peace. Sanctions are being imposed on us because there is a civil war near us, and we are unjustly accused of having carried out an invasion.

[Text] [Laurent] Is your aim not to create a "greater Serbia"?

[Milosevic] No, never. I have said, and I have written: Serbia has never had territorial claims against anyone; it has never felt the need to expand its borders. It goes without saying that, as a member of the international community, it must respect this community's principles, just as other states do. I am opposed to the system of double standards.

[Laurent] What do you mean?

[Milosevic] That people must not try to impose on us criteria that Europe itself does not observe.

[Laurent] Could you be more specific?

[Milosevic] I am trying to describe an attitude. The Europeans are trying to impose on Yugoslavia solutions that no Western state would tolerate at home. Consider France, for instance. Imagine that one of its regions proclaims itself unilaterally independent, that it takes hostage French people who live there but who do not want this separation, and that all this takes place against a background of military confrontations. How do you think Paris would react if, moreover, a neighboring country were to support and protect that secession?

[Laurent] How long do you expect to hold up against the international pressure?

[Milosevic] If the foreign powers start reshaping Serbia to suit themselves, it will not be good for Serbia, but it would not be a very honest thing for those powers to do.

## Kosovo

### Citizens Comment on Police 'Repression'

*92BA1202B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 92 p 23*

[Article by V. Orosi and S. Dzezairi: "Kosovo Mosaic: 'Sota' Has Become a 'Wreath'; An Appeal by Dobrica Cosic Instills a Ray of Hope"]

[Text] The Kosovo methane mine, as a representative in the Serbian parliament said, did not even explode last Tuesday, although the internal affairs organs of Serbia did not permit the constitutive meeting of the "Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo" to be held, designating it an "anticonstitutional act." The Alaudin Muslim secondary school in Pristina, in which several meetings of Albanian political parties have been held so far, was again surrounded by militia on 22 June, and its director, Cazim Cazimi, several workers at this religious school, and a number of citizens were taken to the SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs]. In the early morning hours that Tuesday, the vice president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Fehmi Agani, whose attention was directed to the fact that holding the meeting cited would be thwarted at all costs, was also taken to the militia station. Several representatives were also arrested, and Akender Beris of Prizren, "because of disturbing the public order and peace," was sentenced to 60 days in jail. Local commentators, depending on national affiliation, explain the recent events as if "the Republic of Serbia clearly made it known to the secessionists with this that an end had come to ignoring and tolerating their work" (JEDINSTVO) or, as BUJKU writes, with this act the Serbian Government hoped for political points within the Serbian nation itself, dragging out the theme that only this regime is supposedly in a position to take care of "Serbian Kosovo." Political individuals in the multiparty Kosovo parliament emphasize that increased repression at a time when the Government of Serbia is

speaking out, allegedly, for a dialogue with the Albanians, indicates clearly how ruling Serbian-Montenegrin circles envision this dialogue. And while the invitation of the Serbian Government to dialogue has been flatly refused because of the conditions set and a lack of seriousness, the invitation of the newly inaugurated president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Dobrica Cosic, sent to all leaders of the local political parties, inspires a ray of hope that one can soon expect, perhaps also through the mediation of foreign parties, as supported by Rugova, that Albanians and Serbs will finally find themselves at the same table. The chances are all the greater here in that the political leaders of the Albanians do not deny the fact of the connection between Kosovo and the former Yugo-federation, and there is also the recent referendum of the Albanians, which does not rule out entry into a future federation or confederation.

**Militia**

The citizens of Kosovo have been bothered in recent weeks by the presence and behavior of the militia forces. The event that took place on Saturday, 20 June, when a militia patrol, during a regular check, stopped a vehicle containing the president of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosovo, Mark Krasnici, the secretary of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights, Zenun Celjaj, the secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Kosovo, Ibrahim Osmani, and a newly elected representative in the Kosovo parliament, Riza Luka, somehow remains the most vivid. After they contacted their superiors by walkie-talkie and gave the answer that they had arrested several "Shiptars," they took them to the militia station. They quickly released Krasnici and Luka, but the remaining pair, Ibrahim Osmani and Zenun Celjaj, got the worst of it. Osmani was first called into the offices, and was then beaten with nightsticks by two individuals, one in uniform and the other in civilian clothes. Next Celjaj's turn came. Ibrahim Osmani, with whom we had opportunities to speak, says that he will never forget the screams that came out of the room in which they were beating Celjaj. What happened was that Celjaj had warned them to be careful of his legs, because he had problems with them. However, this was an occasion for the pair of enraged militiamen to take off his shoes and beat his feet with nightsticks. Then they again called Osmani into the office and, after several heavy blows to his head (he says that his ears were ringing), they pinned a pass for VJESNIK on his shirt (Osmani worked as a reporter for this newspaper). "I don't know why they beat us, what we were being blamed for, but I was shocked by such hatred during the beating. I was especially surprised by the threat that they would throw us out and kill us before Europe and America come, and that we couldn't expect to be rescued," Ibrahim Osmani said to us at the end of the conversation.

**Exhibit**

Do you remember the folklore ensemble Sota? Under this name it performed a medley of songs from this area many times throughout Yugoslavia and the world. But, that is in the past. At a recent special celebration in Pristina, at the suggestion of the republic minister for culture, Miodrag Djukic, they were christened with a wreath. Here is a modest contribution by a controversial minister in Serbianizing Kosovo culture! That all is not black, however, is indicated by a joint exhibit in the Pristina gallery, where Kosovo artists of various nationalities have displayed their works. But, one swallow does not make a spring....

## Vojvodina

### Lovre Elected Prime Minister-Designate

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[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr. Koviljko Lovre has been elected prime minister designate of the Executive Council of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

This was decided at today's session of the assembly, where its deputies accepted the only candidate put forward by a majority group of deputies of the Serbian Socialist Party by a majority vote.

The vote was public, although 45 of the 104 deputies had demanded a secret ballot.

According to a decision adopted today on the organization and work methods of the province's government and administration, there will be seven secretariats and a number of administrative borders. Unlike the old council's composition, this time there is no Secretariat for National Defense, nor Ministries for Internal Affairs, International Cooperation, Urban Planning and Religious Affairs. [passage omitted]